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Israeli Soldier Shot in al-Bireh

Hundreds of Ramallah and al-Bireh residents were rounded up and searched after an Israeli soldier was killed last Monday.

Israeli troops clamped a six-hour curfew on the twin cities of Ramallah and al-Bireh and on the adjacent al-Am'ari refugee camp February 4 after an unidentified gunman shot and killed Israeli soldier Aharon Avidar, 29, who was guarding the Israeli customs and tax office in central al-Bireh in mid-day. 150 shops in the market area were ordered closed for two days as collective punishment.

According to another soldier who was on guard at the same gate, Avidar had opened the gate for a customs official and was closing it when a man approached him and fired one shot point-blank at his head. The gunman disappeared into the market area. The soldier was rushed to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem but was pronounced dead on arrival. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for the killing of the Israeli soldier. In a press release issued in Damascus February 4, the PFLP said that commandos from the Ghassan Kanafani unit carried out the operation.

Israeli soldiers immediately rounded up about a hundred passers-by for interrogation. All roads into Ramallah and al-Bireh were closed and no one was allowed to enter or leave the area. From loudspeakers, patrolling soldiers called a curfew on the two cities and al-Ama'ri refugee camp and a large number of soldiers searched for the attacker. The curfew left many Ramallah residents who were outside the area stranded and some had to sleep away from home.

Israeli troops reportedly rounded up a large number of youths who happened to be in the vicinity of the incident and held them at the police station yard for questioning. Some were released the same evening, while others remained in detention.

Shortly after the incident, the chairperson of the council of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, Othniel Schneller, arrived on the scene along with other settlers. Their arrival triggered local rumours that Israeli settlers had attacked Ramallah residents.

Israeli troops lifted the curfew at 7:30 in the evening but kept the area of the shooting, including the al-Bireh produce market, closed. Israeli troops patrolled the two cities throughout the night and later closed the immediate area with barbed wire, hence blocking the entrances to many shops.

The severity of security measures following the incident was attributed to rising tension within the Israeli military establishment over the recent spate of attacks against Israeli targets in the West Bank. These attacks seem to be of a more sophisticated and pre-planned nature than the run of the mill stone throwings. One Ramallah resident remarked that the fact that the shooting occurred next to the local police station may have antagonised the Israeli army most.

were later quoted by *Al Quds* Arabic daily as saying that recent military attacks in the West Bank are the "work of one group." However, MK Binyamin Ben Eliezer (Yahad), former coordinator of military activities in the occupied territories, told an Israel TV interviewer the same evening that recent military attacks appeared to be the work of several local groups.

Editorials in the three nationalist Palestinian dailies were censored out of Tuesday's papers.

During the past week, one Israeli soldier was killed and two

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Dheisheh Sends Out SOS

The Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, the Committee for the Defence of Dheisheh Camp and the Committee to Defend Palestinian Refugee Camps warned the public this week of the danger that "blood will be spilled" if army and settler provocations against Dheisheh residents are not stopped immediately. An "SOS" press conference was held in West Jerusalem's Beit Agron press complex February 5 to expose the arrests, beatings and armed raids by the Israeli army and settlers, especially Rabbi Moshe Levinger's group. Camp residents who were beaten and harassed during the weekend's army round-ups and camp spokespersons described for local and foreign journalists the ghetto-like environment for the camp's 10,000 residents who live behind cement entrances, barbed wire and under constant provocation by the presence of army and settlers.

Joseph al-Ghazi, secretary of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, said that Jewish settlers have been "provoking Dheisheh residents in order to give the army a reason to punish its residents severely." Al-Ghazi called for "immediate outside pressure to stop the vicious cycle that has been started purposely by Levinger and ultra-rightwing settlers." He called for an "immediate end of the curfew on the camp, removal of settlers — particularly Levinger, reopening the camp's entrances, releasing the detainees and cancellation of proposals to liquidate the refugee camps."

A cable of the camp's complaints was sent to the UN secretary-general, permanent ambassadors to the UN Security Council and to 25 Israeli Knesset members asking them to set up an "inquiry panel so as to avoid any anticipated massacres by the settlers and their supporters."

Sha'ban al-Issa, 52, a camp resident and father of eight, related to journalists events during successive Israeli army raids on his house in their search for his son, Akram. Al-Issa said that the military authorities confiscated his identity card — required by military law for travel outside the home — his driver's licence and car insurance, virtually holding him hostage in return for his son.

Thuraya Farraj, 40, spoke of the Israeli army's arrest of her brother Jamal, 19, who is ill with diabetes. She said that Jamal had to be carried to prison by soldiers and that the Bethlehem military governor and a member of the Israeli intelligence (Shin Bet) witnessed the arrest. Thuraya also said that Israeli soldiers came back several times looking for her other brother, journalist Hamdi Farraj, who has been under town arrest for the past two-and-a-half years. When they didn't find him they ransacked the house and left a warrant for his arrest. Hamdi showed up at military headquarters voluntarily on the following day and is now being held at Fara'a prison.

Ali Farraj, a 50-year-old camp resident, told reporters how he was beaten by soldiers who were looking for his son, Ahmad.

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Arrests, Raids Precede Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon

An Israeli tank mired down in south Lebanon mud./AFP photo

Israeli troops besieged Burj al-Shamali refugee camp and Ma'arakeh village, both in the Tyre area, February 5-7 following a suicidal car attack against Israeli troops. There were conflicting reports about the extent of Israeli casualties from the operation, the first of its kind in months. While Nabih Berri, Lebanon's minister of south Lebanon affairs, said that more than 100 Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded in the blast, Israeli military sources admitted the injury of ten.

Berri, who also leads the popular Shi'ite Amal Movement, called for a general strike in all of south Lebanon February 7 to protest the Israeli arrest raids on Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. In an Israeli attack on a vocational school in Tyre February 5, at least six people were killed and as many as 57 wounded. Israeli helicopters were used to besiege the Jabal 'Aamel Professional Training School and casualties were all between 13 and 15 years of age. Lebanese sources said that Israeli troops also arrested more than 150 teenagers from the area for unknown reasons.

On the same day, Israeli troops raided the village of Ma'arkeh and arrested 14 people on suspicion of involvement in military attacks against Israeli troops. Sources from UNIFIL, whose mandate extends to that area, said there were at least 10 military attacks against Israeli troops in that area last week.

Until late February 7, more than 500 Israeli soldiers, with 100 armoured vehicles and supported by 10 helicopters, were still surrounding Burj al-Shamali refugee camp. The reports also said that Israeli troops were still unable to actually enter the camp because of stiff resistance put up by camp residents. According to press reports, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin supervised the military offensive.

The suicidal car bombing operation February 5 was carried out against an Israeli military convoy passing near Burj al-Shamali refugee camp. Lebanese news sources said that the car bombing was two-staged to inflict maximum casualties. A hand grenade was first thrown at the convoy and when Israeli troops gathered around the site of the explosion, a car was driven into their midst. One of the 10 casualties admitted by Israeli soureces suffered medium injuries and the rest light wounds, according to official Israeli reports.

An Israeli soldier who was wounded in the blast told a journalist with the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* that Israeli soldiers noticed the car speeding towards the convoy and tried to open fire but before they could act, the car crashed into one of the transport trucks and exploded. Fire immediatly spread over the area, he said. The soldier added that he felt the heat of the flames and covered his face and head with his hands, thus sustaining burns on his hand.

Earlier the same day, two Israeli soldiers were wounded when a bomb exploded as they drove near Burj al-Shamali refugee camp near Tyre.

Early February 4, four Israeli soldiers were wounded, one seriously, in four roadside bomb attacks in south Lebanon. Two soldiers were wounded in an explosion against a convoy of military vehicles which was passing near the village of Klei'a. An Israeli military spokesperson said that one of the two wounded soldiers was transferred by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital. A third soldier was wounded in another explosion near the village of Deir al-Zahrani. The fourth Israeli casualty of the day was wounded somewhere in the northeastern suburbs of Tyre when a seven-kilogramme explosive charge was detonated as an Israeli convoy drove nearby. An Israeli military spokesperson said that the soldier sustained only mild injuries.

Earlier in the news week January 31, an anti-tank missile was fired at Israeli military headquarters in Nabatiyeh. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed the bombing caused no casualties.

Israeli troops began pulling out of the Sidon area January 31. UPI quoted Lebanese security sources as saying that Israeli troops withdrew on Tuesday afternoon January 31 from the first position on the Senek bridge at the southern entrance to Sidon. Meanwhile, *Reuters* reported February 2 that two Israeli-backed Lebanese militia leaders and several of their followers left Sidon as Israeli troops began pulling out from the area. Hussein Akkar, a commander of the Israeli-backed "national guards" which operated near Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp, left the Sidon area to an unnamed village which would still be under Israeli control after the first stage of Israeli withdrawal.

Mahmoud Halabi, another "border guard" commander in the Sidon area, left to an unspecified destination. Earlier last week, another commander left Sidon to territory still under direct Israeli control.

Meanwhile, the Israeli press continued to carry reports of growing Palestinian military presence in the Sidon area, particularly in Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp, and in the Shouf region, north of Sidon, which is under the Progressive Socialist Party forces' control. Israeli government officials repeatedly threatened last week to return to areas already evacuated if any Palestinian military presence returns.

LSM Report Details Grisly Fara'a Torture

"The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists and its affiliate, the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, issued a comprehensive report January 30 about the oppressive practices carried out by Israeli authorities against Palestinian prisoners held at al-Fara'a detention centre near the city of Jenin.

"The report consists of 20 affidavits signed under oath by former Palestinian prisoners who were maltreated at al-Fara'a jail. The report deals with the period from the opening of the prison in 1982 to May 1984. The ex-detainees' testimonies indicate that they were "made to stand naked under the rain, were beaten with boots in sensitive parts of their bodies, burnt by cigarettes and had cold water and urine poured on them." The report also quotes detainees as saying that "food and sleep were forbidden prisoners for long periods, causing one of the prisoners to loose 16 kilogrammes in one month." Another section of the report details the testimony of prisoners who were beaten after having told a delegation of the Red Cross of earlier incidents of torture.

"The report about the situation in al-Fara'a said that Israeli military authorities established Fara'a on orders from former Israeli chief staff Rafael Eitan." (Translation: Davar, January 31, 1985 and Al Hamishmar, February 1, 1985).

UNRWA Tries to Cope

"UNRWA is keeping governments, development funds and voluntary agencies fully informed of the agency's critical financial situation and United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar is writing to heads of government asking for increased financial aid to UNRWA," according to a recent UNRWA release.

"Cuts of US$40 million have already been made in the 1985 budget, still leaving a gap of US$27 million between estimated income and the minimum expenditure needed to prevent cuts in the agency's education, health and welfare services to Palestine refugees.

"In January, Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck spoke to the council of Europe's Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography in Paris. On January 21, Deputy Commissioner-General Robert Dillon flew to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia to discuss UNRWA's financial needs with Prince Talal Bin Abd al-Aziz al-Saud, president of the Arab Gulf programme for UN development organisations.

"Dillon will be going to Washington in mid-February to brief US government officials and later in February, commissioner-General Rydbeck will visit host governments and other governments in the Middle East. Rydbeck is also planning to visit Japan in the spring.

"In addition, UNRWA officials from headquarters in Vienna and from field offices in Amman, Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem are in continuous contact with representatives of contributing governments. And on March 26, UNRWA is planning a meeting with permanent missions and observers accredited to the United Nations organisations in Vienna.

"UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East, provides education, health and relief services to eligible refugees among the 2 million registered with the agency."

Najah Issues Alert

In an alert to the public, Najah National Univeristy in Nablus cited a February 3 report by the Israeli Hebrew daily *Ha-Aretz* which threatened that the Israeli security forces are preparing to take measures against Najah, the largest Palestinian university in the West Bank, because of the nationalist tone at graduation ceremonies held there three weeks ago. *HaAretz* added that security forces plan to arrest some students and employees of Najah for what was termed "activities on campus hostile to the State of Israel."

The Israeli media portrayed the graduation ceremony as an anti-occupation and pro-PLO demonstration and highlighted the presence of deposed Mayors Karim Khalaf and Bassam Shaka'a. Over 600 Palestinians were awarded diplomas in the presence of thousands of relatives, local and foreign dignitaries and members of the press.

Two employees of Najah's public relations department were arrested January 29 in connection with alleged anti-occupation activities during the ceremonies. Adnan Damiri and Hisham Zu'bi are still being detained at Fara'a prison on no known charge.

Najah University was closed for four months, August through November 1984, on the pretext that the third annual Palestinian cultural week activities contained "anti-occupation material" and represented a threat to Israel's security.

The graduation ceremonies included speeches by faculty and community members.

26 Dheisheh Residents Arrested in Brutal Raids

Israeli border guard units have so far arrested 26 youths from Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem on charges of "incitement and stone-throwing attacks"on Israelitraffic. The arrest campaign, the largest in several months, began with a night raid February 1 and coincided with increased provocations and incitement by Israeli settlers and government officials for more severe punishment against Palestinian residents. Fourteen youths were rounded up in the initial raid; 12 other residents were arrested over the following two days.

Several dozen Israeli border guards arrived at the camp on Friday night after 10:00 pm and started making arrests according to a list. Among those summonsed were two journalists, Hamdi Farraj, who has been under town arrest for two years, and his brother Jamal. Both work for *Al Mithaq* daily. Jamal Farraj, 21, is a diabetic and he was released from hospital only three days earlier. The other arrestees are students, labourers and office employees.

Sources in Dheisheh said that Israeli troops searched and ransacked houses and beat relatives of wanted youths who were not home at the time. The camp was kept under military blockade throughout the night, with soldiers stationed at the entrances and patrolling the alleyways.

Israeli army and intelligence officers returned to the camp on the two following days looking for residents who hadn't been home at the time of the initial raid. Several parents and relatives of wanted youths were harassed, beaten and had their ID papers confiscated as collateral until their relatives were located and arrested.

The most recent arrest campaign heightened the atmosphere of tension and anger already prevailing in the refugee camp. Settler militant Rabbi Moshe Levinger, who has been living in a van parked outside the camp for the past three months continued his provocations against Dheisheh residents by praying in front of closed shops on the main Bethlehem-Hebron road. Levinger's action, which was joined by number of Jewish settlers, followed a demand by the head of the Jewish settlements council that the number of settlements in the occupied territories be increased.

Kiryat Arba settlement allocated US$5000 from the settlement's budget to support Levinger, according to the Israeli daily *HaAretz* of February 1. The decision to give Levinger financial aid was taken in a regular meeting of the settlement's local council last November. During the meeting, the Hebrew paper reported, council member Yehudit Kitspor argued, "It is the duty of the council to support the Rabbi since he is doing the job for us all."

Dheisheh camp has been a popular target for Kiryat Arba militants. Levinger's stake-out at Dheisheh has triggered frequent protests, the closure of camp entrances, settler incursions into the camp and mass arrests of Palestinians. He has demanded that the camp be levelled and the residents relocated.

Camp residents registered their protest to Levinger's continued presence February 4 and 6 by throwing stones at him and at Israeli vehicles going past the camp. Levinger and the Israeli soldiers who are protecting him shot their guns in the air and went into the camp to chase after youths.

Camp residents charge the arrest campaign was carried out to satisfy Israeli West Bank settlers who have been insisting on more severe punitive measures against stone throwers, including deportation. *HaAretz* quoted an Israeli military source as saying that the wide publicity given the arrests by the Israeli press was meant to calm the settlers, who, on the same night of the arrests, had decided to stage "protests against poor security measures in the West Bank." In a meeting of the West Bank settlement council on February 1 at the Gush Emunim Ofra settlement, north of Ramallah, Israeli settlers decided to pressure the Israeli government to take even harsher actions against camp residents.

Israel Radio and TV quoted Israeli security sources as saying that those detained were "inciters for stone throwing." The sources were quoted as saying that investigations in the camp had led to the arrest of "leaders" and "nests of incitement" in the camp. Israel TV also reported the arrestees were responsible for intra-camp violence and disturbance of the peace."

In a report on Dheisheh filmed before the arrests and broadcast by Israel TV on February 3, journalist Hamdi Farraj refuted the interviewer's allegation that Islamic groups in the camp were attacked and said that Israeli agents in the camp were behind the violence. Referring to the series of attacks on camp nationalists during the past few weeks, Farraj said that Israeli-backed Village Leaguers were trying to create problems inside the camp.

Settler's demands received support from several government ministers, including Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon, who called for "selective deportation of stone throwers" and collective punishment against parents of stone throwers. Likewise, Minister without Portfolio Haim Shapira, from the religious Sephardi Morasha movement, called on the government to increase security measures in the West Bank.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, at the weekly cabinet meeting, reassured West Bank settlers that the Israeli army would protect them from attacks. He warned, however, that they should not carry out vigilante activities.

Israeli settlers openly expressed their pleasure over the arrest campaign. Several settlers' cars reportedly stopped in front of the camp on Sunday morning February 3 to blow their car horns in support.

The arrests in Dheisheh were condemned by Knesset members from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) and from the Progressive List for Peace (PLP). MK Meir Wilner (DFPE) said that the Israeli authorities had bowed to pressure from settlers who have been responsible for increasing tension in the West Bank. MKs Matti Peled and Mohammed Mi'ari (PLP) criticised the arrests as "being instigated by political reasons and not security considerations, as the authorities had claimed."

The Committee in Solidarity with BZU issued a statement February 4 saying: "Once again, the military authorities make the residents of Dheisheh arbitrary victims of the demands of Levinger and *Yesha'a* (the settlers' council) who declare their final aim openly, which is to cause the expulsion of families and the dismantling of the camp.

"Since January 29, the camp has seen night raids, arrests and cruel abuses. This kind of collective punishment puts Israel on the same level with the darkest regimes of the world."

The committee called for the "immediate release of all detainees, including journalist Hamdi Farraj, and for strong action against the extremism of the West Bank settlers, especially their leader Levinger."

The Popular and Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and (DFLP) denounced the latest measures against Dheisheh residents. In separate statements issued in Damascus February 4, the two Palestinian factions called for coordination of national Palestinian forces inside the occupied territories "in order to face up to the schemes aimed at destroying the Palestinian identity." The statements also called on international organisations to interfere and put a halt to these acts. The PFLP statements mentioned the latest arrest campaign while the DFLP statement called for financial and moral support for Dheisheh camp.

In a related incident, Israeli troops arrested three workers from the Dheisheh area village of Artas February 1. Israeli troops reportedly raided the workers' houses at night and took them away to an unknown destination. Village residents said that it was still unclear whether or not charges had been levied against the three.

Israeli troops regularly carry out random arrests in Dheisheh using different pretexts, the most common being stone throwing. Dheisheh residents say that on average more than 10 camp youths are in prison at any given time. The largest arrest campaign in years occurred last October, when more than 80 youths were rounded up after a provocative visit by Kach leader Meir Kahane to the camp's mosque.

Government Debates Punitive Measures for Occupied Territories

Top Israeli government officials called last week for extreme punitive measures against the Palestinian population of the occupied territories, to "reinstate order and calm" in the area. The calls were seen as a response to what they say are increasing demands by settlers for military actions, including deportations to stem attacks against Israeli targets.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres was quoted February 7 in *The Jerusalem Post* as saying that he would not block a proposal to reinstate a policy of deportations and administrative detentions. Over 1200 West Bank leaders and activists have been deported by Israeli authorities; the vast majority of the deportations were carried out under the Labour government in the early 1970's. Administrative detentions were abandoned in mid-1970's after adverse international publicity.

The Israeli military authorities apparently have not yet decided whether a reinstatement of such policies would be effective or not. The 10-member Israeli "core" cabinet met February 6 to discuss the newest "security" situation in the West Bank. According to Israeli reports, Likud ministers in the inner cabinet are united in their demands for deportations and are supported by some Labour ministers.

Lawyers for 26 Palestinian residents of Dheisheh who were arrested over the weekend and are now being held in al-Fara'a prison were concerned that the detainees would be targeted for showcase deportation if the exile policy is approved. Lawyers Ussama Odeh, Mohammad Na'amneh and Lea Tsemel sent a telegramme February 6 to Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin asking him for an explanation of the "rumours that are being circulated that a deportation scheme will be enforced." The lawyers demanded that they "be informed beforehand before any action is taken." Various Israeli officials and former officials have

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One of the entrances to Dheisheh camp blocked by the Israeli army.

Settlers Build on Dhahriyah Land

Israeli lorries have been moving prefabricated houses onto Arab-owned land known as Aqbat Ni'meh, three kilometres east of Dhahriyah village in the Hebron district for the past month, *Al Mithaq* daily reported February 5. One Dhahriyah resident said that during the past year, Israeli workers have opened a road off the main Hebron-Beer Sheba road through land belonging to Samu' village and the Aqbat Ni'meh plot. The land, which is situated on a hilltop, was also illegally bulldozed and levelled in preparation for conversion to a settlement. Village residents said they are not aware of any confiscation order concerning their land but they will ask the Israeli authorities about the work.

The land plot in question was being used for grazing sheep. Other residents fear that their agricultural land, which is adjacent to Aqbat Ni'meh, might be targeted next.

It is not clear whether the new settlement is included among the six settlements that the Israeli cabinet endorsed January 10. Among the six planned settlements is Asa'el, which the Israeli statements referred to as being located in the southern Hebron hills.

Dhahriyah, with a population of 15,000, is the southernmost village in the West Bank, some 15 minutes drive from Hebron. Dhahriyah land has been subject to successive confiscations. A number of settlements surround it, including Zohar, which is on the eastern outskirts of the village.

In a related event, residents of Idna village, west of Hebron, reported that Israeli settlers have been spotted on several occasions surveying Arab-owned land at the Tiran al-Hamam area. Residents fear that the presence of surveyors means the land is slated for confiscation.

Government Admits Error in Sakhnin

The Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils in the Galilee and Triangle called for a popular meeting to convene in Sakhnin February 23 to show solidarity with Sakhnin landowners against Israeli army sabotage of Arab-owned land in the Batouf region. On January 25 and 28, Israeli military vehicles and green patrollers purposely destroyed more than 1345 olive trees on land which the Israeli government is attempting to confiscate for "army manoeuvres."

The villages of Sakhnin, Arrabeh and Deir Hanna struck January 31 to register their strong opposition to the destruction of their trees.

In its regular meeting, which was held at the Dabbouriyah local council February 4, the 16-member committee called on the Arab population and progressive Jews to show solidarity with Sakhnin residents. Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, head of the committee, told *Al Fajr* that plans to take over the land can only be foiled by such a united stand. "This will give a boost to Arab-Jewish coexistence," he added.

The committee also took a decision to meet the Israeli prime minister and discuss the land issue with him.

The committee endorsed an earlier recommendation taken by the Sakhnin local council and a number of Arab members of the Knesset at a joint meeting in Sakhnin February 2 to replant the destroyed area with olive trees.

During the committee's meeting, Mohammed Ghanayem, Sakhnin local council head, submitted a document referring to questioning by MK Tawfiq Toubi (DFPE) of former Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens last April 30 about the same land plot. Arens had told Toubi that the land was not designated as a closed military area. Israeli police had claimed the opposite.

The committee took a preliminary strike decision for all Arab local councils, if present contacts with Israeli government officials to correct the damage to the land proved fruitless. Ghanayem said that landowners who were affected by the incursions had filed formal complaints at the local police station and are planning to press charges against the military and ask for compensation for their destroyed fields.

The Israeli Knesset turned down a petition made January 30 to schedule the incursion issue on the Knesset's agenda. Mohammed Ghanayem, who had been invited to speak by several Arab Knesset members from the DFPE, the Progresive List for Peace (PLP), Mapam and the Labour Party, briefed the MKs privately on the circumstances surrounding the Israeli army's entry on the land. He also said that he received much moral support in the fight against the land takeover.

Israeli officials admitted February 6 that the tree-uprooting was a mistake. In a letter dated February 6 from the office of Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman to the head of Sakhnin local council, Weizman apologised for the uprooting and promised fair compensation to the farmers. Weizman, who is now handling the affairs of Arabs in Israel following the abolition of the post of prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs, set up a committee of all pertinent Israeli officials and the Sakhnin local council to study the matter. Israel Radio said Weizman hoped the committee would meet within two weeks and solve the problem of the contested area "once and for all."

The Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils also discussed the government delays in releasing more than IS3 billion in emergency funds which were allocated by the Israeli prime minister last November to help Arab local councils in the Galilee and Triangle out of their financial crises. Ibrahim Nimr Hussein said that so far the Israeli Ministry of Interior had released only IS800 million. The committee asked the follow-up committee — Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, Shafa 'Amr local council head Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, and Jatt local council head Ahmad Abu Asbeh — to pursue the issue with the Israeli Interior Ministry.

Jewish Settlers Up in Arms over "Security Situation"

On the pretext that the frequency and intensity of attacks in the occupied territories rose perceptibly this week, West Bank settlers and their supporters in the Israeli Knesset clamoured for harsher measures against Palestinians and threatened to take the law into their own hands if their demands were not met. The only settler demands specified in the Israeli press are calls for deportation and collective punishment against stone throwers. Speaking on behalf of settlers, Othniel Schneller, secretary of the Council of West Bank and Gaza Settlements, demanded the "immediate resignation" of Defence Minister Rabin, whom they blame for the escalation of petrol bomb and armed attacks.

Government officials cautioned settlers against hysteria, while assuring them that their demands would be met. Deputy Prime Minister Yitzhal Shamir met with settlers January 31 at Tel Rumeida, near Hebron, where Arab landowners physically confronted settlers last week who arrived to confiscate a five dunum plot in an attempt to establish a settlement. Shamir assured settlers that he had "no doubt that a large Jewish settlement will arise in Hebron; the only problem is time." He also expressed the opinion that economic cuts should not be borne by the settlement movement. "In fact," he added, "a settlement should receive more, as it has always done throughout the history of settlement in Eretz Yisrael."

Later the same day at Telem settlement near Hebron, settlers told Shamir that unless his government "imposes a far harsher policy towards Arabs in the area, they would have no choice but to take the law into their own hands." Kiryat Arba leader Eliakim Ha'etzni, also a lawyer, was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* as saying that the underground terrorist organisation, TNT, began because of the "bad security situation in Judea and Samaria during Weizman's tenure." Ha'etzni was clearly threatening future retribution on a similar scale. "The government will be responsible for our blood," he said.

To demonstrate the seriousness of their threats, over 1000 Jewish settlers turned out in 300 cars around 5:00 am February 3 to block 28 major roads connecting Jerusalem to other West Bank towns and villages. They stopped, checked and sent back hundreds of Palestinian workers and

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Palestinian Merchants Charge Jerusalem Municipality with Exploitation

The *arnona* saga, which started three weeks ago when East Jerusalem merchants returned their municipality tax bills, continued last week as merchants persisted in their refusal to pay the tax and municipality officials refused to discuss merchants' demands further.

The merchants insist that the tax bills are too steep and that municipality tax laws need to be reviewed and amended. They also demand that the municipality improve services in their section of the city to equal those of West Jerusalem, because they argue, taxes should equal services.

In a meeting between merchants and muncipality representatives February 4, merchants were told that municipal tax laws will remain unamended, with some possibility that merchants' demands will be reviewed next year. Jerusalem merchant Mustafa Abu Zahra called that an "insufficient reason" for merchants to pay the taxes. Municipality officials also seem to underestimate the merchants' determination and sophistication: "We do not accept empty promises," said Abu Zahra.

The merchants — who staged a general strike January 31 to protest the *arnona* — argue that it is "too high" and "beyond their ability" to pay. Several merchants received tax bills amounting to thousands of dollars, which effectively drains off a large percentage of their profits or even, in some cases, of their net income.

Merchants argue that the law, which calculates business taxes according to block location, should be amended. They say several locations that are not commercially profitable fall into higher tax brackets. Abu Zahra noted the municipality had been somewhat flexible in recent years when a few merchants demanded their locations be reclassified. This year witnessed an abrupt turnaround, however — municipality officials flatly refused to alter classification procedures. "It's a sudden change of attitude that we do not accept," he said.

Although municipality officials admit that services are not of the same calibre for the eastern and western sectors of the city, they have no immediate plans to improve services in the eastern sector. Ibrahim Za'rour, an Arab merchant who attended the meeting, said in an open letter published in several local newspapers that Kollek's advisor on Arab affairs, Amir Hashin, frequently spoke of a wide gap in services and the neglect of the eastern sector but that he showed little concern about the imbalance, saying only that he "hopes the day will come when services are distributed equally." According to Za'rour, this "promise" is only meant to pacify merchants and residents so they will pay the *arnona* tax.

Za'rour argued in his letter that during 18 years of occupation of Arab East Jerusalem, Kollek's municipality had "politically and racially exploited and discriminated" against residents. The *arnona* tax bills are just the latest of many examples, Za'rour argued.

Last week, the municipality drafted a policy whereas merchants who had paid the whole bill by February 3 received a 27 percent deduction and those who paid by March 3 would get an 18 percent deduction. "Not good enough," said Abu Zahra. "Even after a 27 percent deduction, the bills are still too high. The municipality ought to listen carefully to our demands," he added.

Merchants feel that if they give in too easily this time, the municipality will persist with its "unfair policies." Only a few merchants found the deductions tempting enough to pay their bills; the majority is still considering "other alternatives," Abu Zahra said, but he did not elaborate.

Jerusalem's Arab Population Down 8% from 1972

Despite a growth rate higher than that measured by the 1972 census, Jerusalem's Arab population showed an eight percent decrease compared to the Jewish population of the city, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics reported February 4. Jerusalem's Arabs accounted for 36 percent of the population in 1972; by 1983 Arabs were only 28 percent of the total population.

While Arab population increased from 57,500 to 122,400 at a rate of 4.2 percent annually, the Jewish population increased from 100,980 to 306,000, or a mere 3.1 percent annually. This increase is largely due to the addition of several Israeli settlements that house over 140,000 Israelis in Arab East Jerusalem, occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, and to the continued — though decreasing — emigration of Arab Jerusalemites abroad.

Soon after the 1967 war, Israeli authorities launched a major settlement construction drive that resulted in the Arab sector being engulfed by West Jerusalem from one direction and Jewish settlements from the north, east and south, isolating it from the rest of the West Bank.

The city boundaries were also redrawn to exclude several Arab population concentrations from the map. According to Faisal Husseini, director of the Arab Studies Centre, officials remapped the city in such a conspicuous way that tens of thousands of Arabs became non-Jerusalemites, eg Abu Dis, Azzariya and parts of Anata.

Jerusalemites carry identification cards which entitle them, for example, to the same welfare and medical insurance benefits as Israeli citizens, for which West Bank residents are not eligible. If a Jerusalemite marries someone with a West Bank ID, the West Banker is not automatically given the Jerusalem ID, even if Jerusalem is their residence. Palestinians see this as a deliberate effort to reduce Jerusalem's Arab numbers.

The Israeli census, which counts people by residence and not ID, does not include the West Bank Jerusalemites in their figures, again reducing the figure for Arabs in Jerusalem. Their reasons are politically motivated, according to Husseini. "By telling the world that Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish, Israel wants to justify its claims that Jerusalem is the capital of the Jewish state." Husseini attributed high Arab emigration to the lack of development in Jerusalem and the occupied territories, which drives out local residents looking for employment and career opportunities.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

"I'm Fed Up!" - An Israeli Officer In South Lebanon

Israel Zamir of *Al Hamishmar* Hebrew daily spoke to one Israeli officer about how he felt on the eve of the withdrawal from Lebanon and received an unequivocal answer.

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"You want to know if I'm happy about the withdrawal? Well, like Shimon Peres said in one of his election broadcasts: 'The answer is yes and no. Yes, because I now have reason to assume that I'll get out of this war in one piece. I've been in Lebanon for the past year and-a-half and I'd rather not think about what my wife has been through. She's terrified of hearing a knock on the door and opening it to find an army officer with 'bad news' or picking up the telephone in the middle of the night to hear a voice on the other end of the line tell her that I've been wounded and taken to hospital. She has nightmares every night.

"So why not be happy about getting the hell out of there? Take my soldiers for instance — most of them are gung-ho Beginites, but when it comes to Lebanon, each and every one of them is in favour of the withdrawal. Up to now a lot of time has been wasted by jabbering. In the meantime, five or six soldiers are being wounded every day. When I wake up in the morning, I pray that none of my soldiers will get hit. I don't feel like taking part in any funerals or delivering a graveside eulogy about 'how he died for the sake of his country.' That's nothing but a sham and I'm not ready to buy it anymore. In Lebanon we became cannon fodder, pure and simple. There is no reason for us to be there.

"Yesterday, we came under heavy fire and it was a miracle that no one was wounded. I always tell my troops to be careful, but if Mamushi got it — and he was hyper-cautious — then anybody can get hit. It's simply a matter of time.

"O.K., they've decided to withdraw; trucks loaded with army equipment are now making their way south. Bit by bit we're getting out of Lebanon, after 600 dead and a few thousand wounded. Do you know, a little while ago I read about a soldier who had been 'wounded' quote, unquote. I checked up on the story and discovered what had happened to him: he lost his arms and legs and may lose his eyesight, too.

"I'm not all that happy about the pullout because it seems pretty certain that once we're gone, the massacres will commence. A couple of days ago a Shi'ite fellow told me: After you leave, Lebanon is going to look different. We're going to slaughter the Christians.' He put his hand up to his throat and made a slicing motion. Do you have any idea of what kind of massacres are going to be committed in the Christian villages near the border? The Shi'ites will work hand in hand with the terrorists. And there isn't much chance of them playing nice when they get to the 'good fence' — you can bet your life that they'll fire rockets into Israel."

Fat Man from New York

"I know that after the first or second massacre, the world will start to weep and wail and we won't be able to sit still. No matter who the prime minister or defence minister may be, you can be pretty sure that we'll be sent back in there. I'll never forgive that fat man from New York [Sharon] for having gotten us into this mess. Damned if you do and damned if you don't. What a mess!

"My contract with the army expires in a year's time and if I manage to stay alive till then I'm going to call it quits. I once thought that I'd stay in, but now I'm totally fed up. Look I'm no shirker — I'm a responsible officer, but there's nothing to be done at this point. There's no way the army can come out of this clean.

"So you see, no matter that happens, it'll turn out bad — very bad. So let's wind up this interview. O.K.? Nothing good can come of it. I'm on leave right now and I don't feel like crying the blues about Lebanon. I'll leave that for the next time I'm in Sidon or Tyre. Everybody sings the same song up there. We've got a bloody choir going." (Translation: Al Hamishmar, January 30, 1985)

An Interview with Yeshayahu Leibowitz

Professor **Yeshayahu Leibowitz**, who is known for his strong criticism of Israeli policy, reiterates his stand that the trend towards fascism in Israel has grown and flourished in the shadow of Israel's expansionist policy. For him there is no difference between former Prime Minister Golda Meir of the Labour Party and MK Meir Kahane of Kach.

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Q: You recently went on record as saying that there was no difference between Golda Meir and Meir Kahane.

A: I made a lot of people very upset and that was my intention. Let me reiterate: whoever adopts a policy that revolves around the idea that the Palestinian people does not exist admits to no option save that of Meir Kahane. As to Golda Meir's personal sentiments — that's totally unimportant.

Q: You called her "evil"...

A: That's something altogether different. I was speaking about her as a person. But that's not what we're discussing at present; we're talking about Golda Meir, *the political leader*. And her political outlook has led to the rise of Kahane.

Q: Many people were put off by your formulation; they claim that it was detrimental to the struggle against Kahane.

A: I see no reason to single out Kahane... His views are consistent with official Israeli policy.

Q: Against which you're fighting...

A: So why single out Kahane? Kahane is a legitimate representative of the political line upheld by the state of Israel since the 1967 war.

Q: It would appear that we've arrived at a dilemma similar to that faced by opponents of the Third Reich: those who oppose the present policies of the state must decide whether their resistance has any chance of succeeding or whether it would be better if they got out.

A: Got out of what? Are you talking about emigrating to Los Angeles? I'm staying here — this is my home.

Q: But doesn't that make you an accomplice of Kahane?

A: Yes. I know we're all responsible. But the Jewish people's political independence wasn't established on the condition... that everything would turn out well.

Q: Does that obligate one to go against one's conscience?

A: I never use the word *conscience*. A lot of people think that they have a conscience, as opposed to Hitler, whom they see as being bereft of one. But actually, Hitler had a clear conscience; without a doubt he believed that the supremacy of the German race was a moral yardstick that permitted and even necessitated acts of murder and self-sacrifice.

Q: What kind of morality do you think guided those who were charged with planning to blow up the Dome of the Rock and planting explosives on Arab buses?

A: For me, their morality is a detestable abomination. I feel the same way about Hitler's morality.

Q: What about all the talk about their "good intentions"?

A: It only goes to show that the majority of the population were pleased with the whole thing. The outer trappings of Golda's reign haven't had to be altered much to fit the Kahane era.

Q: Do you put it down to a failure of Israeli education?

A: Why failure?

Q: Do you think that this is what was intended?

A: Of course. It's a matter of policy. It's a process — from humanism, via nationalism, to barbarism; vicious brutishness.

Q: Do you oppose nationalism *a priori*?

A: Nationalism can be a matter of a person's *weltanschauung*. One belongs to a certain human collective, that is to say, a national group. In such a case, it's a matter of a person's outlook; I'm not just one person in a sea of billions — in my own individual way I belong to a certain collective with whom I share a state and upon whom I depend for my existence. Now, each human collective has its own special characteristics and they in turn are the stuff of nationalism.

I accept that form of nationalism; but there is also another form of nationalism which is characterised by the desire to aggrandise the state apparatus of one's nation in order for it to become powerful and aggressive and to conquer and rule and I don't know what else. At present, when people in Israel talk about nationalism they are referring to the latter form. Take a look at the "nationalist camp" — they're simply fascists. And that's Israel, from Golda Meir to Meir Kahane.

Q: The national camp claims that their opponents have been infected by self-hatred.

A: There's no such thing as self-hatred. It's well known that every human being loves himself.

Q: Many people appreciate your views but aren't ready to go as far as you do in your condemnations. Does that weaken your position?

A: I'm not responsible for human stupidity. But your description isn't accurate. There are those who understand what I'm talking about and there are those who don't. Among those who understand what I'm saying, there are some who agree with me and others who have totally different objectives in mind, even though they may fully get the gist of what I'm saying. Now, I'm going to let you in on a secret. The number of those who agree with me — in all walks of Israeli political life — is very large. But no one is prepared to draw concrete conclusions. You'd be surprised by some of the things I've heard from top army officers. Some of them agree with me totally.

Q: And yet, they continue to serve in the army...

A: That's what I ask them, too.

Q: And how do they reply?

A: They don't have an answer. They're not the only ones. You're mistaken if you think that I'm a minority of one. Many, many people realise that for the past seventeen years the state of Israel has been marching to its own suicide.

Continued on page 15.

Old City Hospital Threatened

'Quality of Life' May Plummet For Old City Residents

Guest writer **Sharry Lapp** visited Jerusalem's only medical facility for Old City residents. The Hospice has given health care at nominal charge to the walled city's poor and elderly but is now threatened with closure by Israeli budget cuts. The hospital might become the centre of a wide-scale health insurance plan if proposals from local Palestinian physicians materialise.

The main entrance to the Hospice Hospital.

It's noon on Saturday and the old, airy corridors of the Hospice Government Hospital in Jerusalem's Old City are busy with people. "Visiting hour," explains Dr Ahmad Muhtadi, as he guides me through the old but well-maintained four-storey hospital.

The patient rooms are simply equipped but good-sized and clean. A glimpse into the rooms confirms Dr Muhtadi's claim that free beds are a rarity in the hospital. In the X-ray room Muhtadi points out his "museum exhibit" — one of the very earliest models of an X-ray machine. Pointing to the only other X-ray machine in the room, he adds: "We can't even get the right parts for this one. Another hospital decided it did not want it so we received it whether we wanted it or not... But we make do with what we have."

The surgical section is also simply equipped but its cleanliness and order promotes an air of efficiency and professionalism detected throughout the hospital. "It is an old building," Muhtadi agrees, "but still very good and sturdy. The rooms are very suitably sized and the corridors are nice and wide. There is much we could do with it if we were permitted."

However, Muhtadi's current major concern is not improving the facilities nearly as much as simply keeping the hospital open. It is the only Arab-run hospital within the Old City walls serving the indigenous Palestinian community in Jerusalem. The building itself remains under custody of the Austrian Mission and was leased to the Jordanian Ministry of Health to function as the main government hospital for the East Jerusalem district following the 1948 war. At that time the hospital was also used by all of the southern part of the West Bank, including Bethlehem, Hebron and Jericho districts which had no comparable services.

Construction by the Jordanian government for a newer and larger hospital outside the city walls to answer the ever-increasing health needs of the city was to be completed by October 1967. The plans were interrupted by the June 1967 war and the Israeli authorities seized the fine, new building for their police and government headquarters. Simultaneously the Hospice, then carrying 107 beds, was taken over by the Israeli Ministry of Health.

Since that time the bed capacity permitted by the authorities has been reduced to 25 percent of the original number; it now stands at just 40. In 1978 the ministry ordered the closing of the ear, nose and throat section. Early this year the order was received from the ministry to close the surgical section and turn the second floor over to the Austrian Mission. Fortunately, the hospital was successful in its efforts to maintain its services in these areas at least temporarily. However, it must now work quickly to avert the closing of the entire hospital.

West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek announced that unless he is convinced that the hospital can be independently run by Arabs — the community insists it can — he will close the hospital in January, as an "austerity" measure.

Such an arrangement needs confirmation from the Austrian Mission that it believes the hospital is capable of performing its services as an independent institution. Tangled in the complexities of the political situation here, Austrian Church officials have been hesitant to make such concrete commitments. Church official Dr Kniewasser, who served as the Mission representative here, acknowledged the extreme importance of the hospital's work in ministering to the needs of the community. Both he and the cardinal in Vienna have now promised the needed letter. However, despite pressure from concerned citizens in Austria, no definitive action has yet been taken by the Mission. Meanwhile, Muhtadi is attempting to rally support here as well. Under his pressure, the issue has now been raised in the Knesset and both the British and American Consulates have promised to raise the issue with their governments.

> "It is not us — the doctors and staff — who will suffer from the closure," ... "I for instance have my own clinic and could earn twice as much money if I worked full-time there. There is always a demand for nurses too The people who suffer are the patients for they have no affordable alternative."
>
> Dr Ahmad Muhtadi

Muhtadi argues that the closing of the hospital would be a medical crisis for the community of 150,000 which it serves. Despite rising costs to the hospital, the nominal patient fee at the Hospice has been maintained at about US$3 per day, including bed, medical and surgical treatment, X-rays and lab investigations. Aside from Augusta Victoria Hospital on Mount Scopus, which services only refugees with valid UNRWA cards — most are not from Jerusalem — the Hospice is the only hospital available to the poorer population who cannot afford private hospitals. Seventy percent of the Arabs of Jerusalem district (105,000) are not insured and 40 000 of these are classified as social cases unable to pay for medical treatment

> "It is an old building," ... "but still very good and sturdy The rooms are suitably sized and the corridors are nice and wide. There is much we could do with it if we were permitted"
>
> Dr Ahmad Muhtadi

The hospital is able to deal with over 90 percent of the cases coming or referred to it despite limitations in equipment and facilities. In 1983 the hospital emergency room and outpatient cases totaled 6000 admissions, and 1350 operations and 1550 deliveries were performed.

This year alone they have had to expand their services by over 25 percent to answer the deepening economic crisis, claims Muhtadi. "In economic crises, it is the Palestinians who suffer first and hardest. The Palestinian workers are the first to lose their jobs. Furthermore, it is less likely that both spouses in a Palestinian family will hold jobs, as is common among Israeli families. The worse the economic situation," he emphasised, "the more important our services become."

Muhtadi also points out that the hospital is optimally located. Within the Old City walls it is in the midst of the community it serves. And further, it is at the end of one of the few roads in the Old City accessible by car.

As an Arab-run institution the hospital also fulfills a vital function within the indigenous community. Even among the 30 percent of the population who are insured and can seek services at an Israeli hospital, may residents prefer to use the Hospice for psychological, social and traditional reasons.

The hospital maintains an annual budget of US$1 million of which it earns US$600,000 despite its minimal charge to its patients. "I cannot imagine that the remaining expenditure could be a burdensome cost to any government today, particularly one with a budget of US$23 billion. But if they don't feel they can afford it they should at least allow us to continue our services independently with the aid of charity organisations which have already expressed their willingness to financially support our endeavours," challenged Muhtadi. "I can show you already a list of willing sponsors from various organisations To me it is not important who helps finance the hospital, only that we are permitted to continue.

"It is not us — the doctors and staff — who will suffer from the closure," Muhtadi concludes. "I, for instance, have my own clinic and could earn twice as much money if I worked full-time there. There is always a demand for nurses, too. The people who will suffer are the patients, for they have no affordable alternative."

Death Has A Thousand Faces In Lebanon

Eitan Haber of the Hebrew daily *Yediot Aharanot* reflects on the way all of Lebanon has become a battleground for Israeli soldiers who never know where the next anti-occupation attack may originate. As a result, apathy reigns among the troops – and the government is pulling out.

A few days ago I was at Batar al-Shouf — the crossing point between northern and southern Lebanon — when a downpour started. There was a group of mothers with babes in arms standing there, waiting to cross over to the north. It didn't take long before they were soaked to the bone. The Israeli reservists who saw what was happening rushed out to their outpost and gave them rain ponchos to help keep them dry. But the women just shrugged their shoulders. Some took the ponchos and wrapped them around their children, others refrained. Not one said a word of thanks. They just kept standing in the queue in the cold December rain. And the wretched bawling of their children wrenched our Jewish hearts.

Last week I travelled up and down Lebanon, going from one place to the next, and as I flew and drove through the country I began to realise how a rusty old Israeli slogan had assumed a new relevancy in the bitter realities of contemporary Lebanon: "The whole country is on the front line and the whole nation is pitched in battle." Ludicrous as it may seem, that old Israeli slogan now describes the situation in Lebanon to a T. And that's the difference between the war of 1982 and all of Israel's other wars. Once upon a time there was a front, an army and a well-defined enemy. In Lebanon, the front has been twisted out of shape and smelted down to the point where it reaches the gates of the Good Fence at Metulla and Rosh Hanikra. There are no enemy positions, outposts or bunkers in this war. The enemy can fire at you from the middle of a field, the fourth floor of a building, the roof of a villa or a passing car.

And there is no well-defined enemy. Once, an 80-year-old Druze man fired an RPG rocket at the Israeli army. It was during the fighting in the Shouf mountains.

An innocent-looking 14-year-old Shi'ite kid from Nabatiyeh can set off an explosive device or shoot you without batting an eyelash. Such things have happened. All of Lebanon has become a front and every Shi'ite, Druze, Christian and Palestinian seems to have taken up arms.

In Lebanon, one's sight is all-important. You have to keep your eyes peeled at all times, on the lookout for a seven-kilogramme explosives charge surreptitiously planted under a water pipe or a stone on the road. Every second counts. It could be a RPG barrel sticking out from the bushes in an orchard, or a bazooka aimed at you from the roof of a fancy villa. Kalachnikovs have narrower barrels — "What's that sticking out of the basement window?" And then there are those sleek red Mercedes; down go the windows and you're sprayed with bullets.

The next most important physical asset is one's legs. You have to be able to leap out of your troop carrier, safari truck or command car at a moment's notice in order to pursue the wind — a.k.a. the terrorists. Or else you need your legs to make a break for it (one doesn't say "to run away" — the Israeli army never runs away).

Like I said, legs are important in Lebanon. Terrorists, be they Palestinian or Shi'ite, have been known to set off explosives charges at a distance of fifty to sixty metres from a passing army convoy. They select their victims, stake them out for a few seconds or minutes and then set off the charge. Sometimes they're only a stone's throw away. And then they cut out, either on foot or by car. You don't see them. (How many terrorists have the Israeli army managed to capture red-handed?) They're there one minute and gone the next. Like the wind.

Two eyes open and two hands on the gun.

> "Lebanon is a country that slips the rug out from under the feet of its conquerors, leaving them flat on their faces atop a heap of garbage."

Land Without Pity

But one's heart is definitely a burden in Lebanon. It's totally unnecessary. Unwarranted use of the heart can lead to countless troubles. Because Lebanon is a land without pity; the dreadful has already happened. Have you ever seen two-year-olds with a burned-out and listless expression in their eyes? Forget about Ethiopia and listen to me: when you go to Lebanon, leave your heart at home.

One morning at the end of December 1984, I visited an army outpost located in the Lebanese boondocks. It was high up in the hills and it was cold — damned cold. Somebody had written "Fechter is the worst asshole in this whole unit" on the wall of the outpost. A prank. Underneath the grafitti were written the official instructions of the Israeli army: "Don't dry your clothes on the heater."

Four days ago there was a blizzard here. This morning, with the sun beating down on the snow, the ground has turned into a marsh. The mud clings to your shoes. This place may be a skier's paradise, but as far as the outpost commanders are concerned, it's a nightmare. What would happen if the outpost was cut off for a week? Or more? Such things have happened. And what if a soldier suddenly got an appendicitis attack in the middle of a snowstorm? Sitting on the top of the world involves a plethora of problems.

At night the temperature drops below zero. The cold pierces you. The soldiers are decked out in their winter gear and look like bears. With the money it took to outfit the army with winter clothing, an entire slum could have been redone in top fashion.

On a clear day you can see the Syrian soldiers bivouaced on Chtoura. They're dug into the opposite hill. The soldiers at the outpost told me that the Syrians had prepared for the cold. Stories about Syrian soldiers freezing to death at their outposts are a thing of the past. Maybe they're still good for raising the morale of the Israeli soldiers, but according to the commanders I spoke with, the Syrians are outfitted quite well. If war breaks out, this will be the point where they will try to break through Israeli lines. The topography of the area reminded me of the Golan Heights...

The outpost itself is almost identical to the bunkers that lined the Suez Canal during the War of Attrition. The same heaps of stones held tight by iron chains; the same underground bunkers, look-outs and networks of trenches. They say history doesn't repeat itself, but if you ask me, they're wrong. What I want to know is: what have we learned in the meantime?

The Israeli soldiers stationed opposite Jib Jenin were two or three years old during the War of Attrition. Today they're capable of asking questions and, like everybody else in Israel, they're looking for answers.

The commander-in-chief of the northern region, General Uri Orr, is standing in the soldiers' over-heated living quarters. He likes to rub shoulders with the troops and frequently travels around the front in order to talk to the men. Now he's standing in the middle of the room giving them a political and military forecast. He avoids giving his own views and informs his audience that the Naqoura talks have come to a dead end. "Now, we have three options... the second option is... I expect that we'll sit tight till spring..."

The soldiers feel let down. Their questions reveal a general state of confusion and doubt about what they're doing in Lebanon.

"If that's the way things stand, why don't we take the initiative and attack Syria?"

"If that's the way things stand, why did we go into Lebanon in the first place?"

Apathy Reigns Unchecked

General Uri Orr tries to answer but it soon becomes apparent that the soldiers really aren't interested in what he's saying. They may ask a few questions, but it's only a matter of going through the motions.

"Go ahead and ask," says the general. "You don't have the opportunity to have a chat with me every day."

Later that same day, at a different outpost, the general was told that the soldiers are no longer interested in the issues of the day. "What's eating them are their personal problems," said the officer in charge. Uri Orr didn't appreciate that. He told the officer to give his men a good talking to. "Give them the feeling that they know what's going on." The officer shrugged his shoulders; he knew that when the general would depart in an hour's time, he'd be left with his troops and their personal problems.

"When will we get leave?"

"Why do the soldiers from Outpost X get to leave in helicopters and not us?"

"Why do the staff officers come sticking their noses into our affairs?"

On second thought, maybe the Israeli soldiers in Lebanon are not like their predecessors on the canal. Was it merely an illusion? There are no longer fierce arguments about the Lebanese war — there's simply nothing left to say. Its all been said, over and over and over again. Apathy reigns unchecked, and it seems as though the soldiers have accepted their fate and have called it quits. During the War of Attrition, behaviour of this sort was referred to as "beduinism"; in Lebanon they've yet to coin a term for it.

Or maybe they're tuckered out. Physically and mentally. Lebanon squeezes the soldiers dry. It's too much for them. Day and night are rolled into one and their service in Lebanon has taken its toll. Lebanon is a country that slips the rug out from under the feet of its conquerors, leaving them flat on their faces atop a heap of garbage.

"Look at those two young Arabs in their red *kafiyyas* riding their grey donkeys across the field. Are they friends or foes?"

"What about those Arab women walking along the side of the road — what are they doing here?"

And what's lurking behind the laughter of school children on their way home from school? Or behind the running streams and the snow-covered peaks, the mud-brown earth and the cold blue sky overhead? Never has the Israeli air force's watchword been so apt: Watch out, the one you don't see is the one that'll get you.

New Breed of Tourism

Tourists in Paris go to see the Eifel Tower; in London they're shown Big Ben; but in Lebanon, sight-seeing takes on a different venue.

"Here's where three of our guys were ambushed one night after their jeep overturned... There's the camp that was strafed by RPG and machinegun fire... This is where Yair Zinir got shot..."

The whole country has become a battlefront. Death has a thousand faces in Lebanon.

The scene at the Jib Jenin crossing is even more deceptive. Israeli soldiers allow Lebanese trucks to approach the line that divides Israeli-held territory from the area under Syrian control in order to reload agricultural produce onto trucks from Damascus, Chtoura, and Ba'albek. The Israelis figured that that way they can avoid a certain amount of unnecessary hostility, which in Lebanon has a way of manifesting itself in the form of grenade attacks.

The sight at the Jib Jenin crossing is a feast for one's eyes. Shining golden oranges sparkle in the sun, sharply contrasted by the snow-covered landscape. It brings out the poet —

— All of the sudden I'm face-to-face with a soldier who's screaming bloody murder. "You! Get the hell out of here! Somebody could take you hostage! You have no bloody reason to be here. Get the hell out!"

Two Lebanese men sitting on the roof of one of the trucks burst out laughing. They didn't know Hebrew but they understood the gist of what the soldier was screaming about. And they realised whom he feared.

The loading and unloading goes like clockwork, thanks to the Lebanese contractor who has been running the show. He gets 500 Lebanese pounds for the unloading operation. That's his fee and whoever doesn't pay up can rot — along with his produce. There's no way out of it, even if you come back the next day, he'll still be there. The contractor's son is perched atop a large crate, dealing with a steady stream of clients. They have to queue up and wait their turn. Everyone shells out another 2000 Lebanese pounds — not a trifling sum — to get his produce reloaded. The graft here could make an honest man go blind, but if you think there are any honest men left in Lebanon, you're sadly mistaken.

And that's not all. The Syrian officer on the other side of the crossing heard about the Lebanese contractor's shady dealings and decided to get in on the action. He can have the trucks thoroughly searched or held up for 24 hours, and in 24 hours the produce can rot. Both the Lebanese contractors and the Syrian army officer aren't looking forward to an Israeli withdrawal. They want to make money.

The difference between the Jib Jenin crossing and the crossing at Batar al-Shouf is like night and day. At Jib Jenin, most of the traffic is commercial (although people also cross to the other side a couple of times a week); Batar al-Shouf, however, is where the Lebanese cross from the north to the south, or *vice versa*. It's the place where the Israeli army comes into contact with the Lebanese — be they Shi'ite, Christian, Druze, army men, civilians, women with babies, and the devil knows what else — and it has proved to be a point of friction.

An Israeli soldier in alert in Sidon: *"In Lebanon, the front has been twisted out of shape... There are no enemy positions, outposts or bunkers in this war."*

Crucible

Batar al-Shouf will probably go down in history books as the site where the seeds of hatred of the Israeli army were sown among the Lebanese. The question at Batar al-Shouf is not who's in the right; the facts speak for themselves. Batar al-Shouf is the focus of the Israeli army's attempt to block terrorists, arms and dynamited cars from entering into the southern sector of the country. This is the place where the army digs its heel into the pride of the Lebanese people. There's no way out. "This is an inhuman place," Mickey, a reserve soldier, said to me. "Totally inhuman."

Some people wait here for hours, laden down with children or parcels, waiting to get across to the other side. Some people even wait here for days. Whoever doesn't have a [Israeli military-issued] pass can't get across. But what about Jewish compassion? How can you refuse an 80-year-old grandmother with two children in her arms and another four clinging to the hem of her dress? How do you say no to a young woman on the verge of fainting who claims that her father just died and that she has got to get to his funeral in Nabatiyeh? And then there are the sick people...

In the space of half an hour I saw two cars loaded with pastry and wedding cakes make their way up to the crossing. The drivers were dressed in their Sunday best, all decked out for the big day. When I told Mickey that I was surprised by the number of marriages taking place in southern Lebanon, he burst out laughing. It turns out that nobody gets married in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese discovered that the Jews have a soft spot for young married couples and weddings. They go to Beirut, buy a load of pastry and cakes and get dressed up as though they were off to a wedding. It pays. It can save a lot of time in the queue at Batar al-Shouf.

It appears that the Lebanese, like the Jews in the diaspora, have learned how to get by under horrible conditions. They've developed a kind of sixth sense for knowing how to get the soldiers' sympathy. Throw them out the door and they come back in through the window. Mickey told me about a fellow who'd turned up at the crossing a week earlier. His papers weren't in order and he wasn't allowed through. No problem, says the fellow, hopping into his car and driving off. Half an hour later he's back at Batar al-Shouf, only this time, he's got a new set of papers.

"Now I realise why my parents detested the British," said Mickey.

Mickey has enough stories to fill a book. It would make pretty grisly reading too: Mothers who lend out their babies, babies being the quickest way to a checkpoint soldier's heart; children who are given cues to burst into tears; bills stuffed into a person's papers, to ease his way through the crossing; you name it. But Mickey's stories pale beside the brute reality of the Batar al-Shouf crossing.

In a Daze

Of course the human dramas played out before the soldiers don't leave them cold. General Uri Orr knows that the situation here is much more extreme than anywhere else in Lebanon. Once again I watch him talking to the troops — both regular and reservists — and with painstaking patience explain what's in store on the political and military fronts. He advises them to be patient and tells them what to expect. But the soldiers seem dumbfounded. Sorrow and depression permeate the atmosphere, and Uri, like every good officer, tries to draw them out.

"Well guys," he says, "what have you got to say?"

Silence.

Maybe they're frightened of the general. Maybe they're not sure how he'll react to their questions. Maybe they don't feel it's worth getting embroiled in a discussion. One soldier has a furlough coming up. Another is about to finish his army service.

What fate awaits them? An attack may come from anywhere at any moment "Whoever got us in here ought to get us out."

Silence.

Uri Orr presses them to "ask away" but they don't respond.

"Well, who wants to comment on what I said?" he asks, glancing around.

General Orr is a patient man, and so he waits. But nobody takes up his offer. Are they in shock? In a daze?

Finally, one fellow gets up and says he isn't sure if the general will want to hear what he has to say. Uri Orr tells him it's a free country. A young soldier from Jerusalem gets up and says he thinks the army should get out of Lebanon. And that it's impossible to come to any kind of an arrangement with the Lebanese. Another soldier takes the floor and says he too thinks that the time has come to withdraw.

"But if we withdraw," says a third soldier, "if we go back to the international border, the terrorists will return. What did 600 of our guys die for?"

Nissim, a driver from Ramat Gan, says that he doesn't know what to say. If we withdraw, the situation will return to what it was prior to the war.

At least the ball has started rolling.

An officer in the tank corps says his piece: "I have yet to understand what we're doing here."

A fellow by the name of Sasson gets up and says: "We're in a trap. We went into Lebanon because things were bad. Now we're in Lebanon and things are bad. If we withdraw, it'll also be bad. Whoever got us in here ought to get us out."

Assaf: "Every day here is one day too many. General, look at the eyes of the people at the crossing and you'll understand why they've begun to hate us. They didn't hate us before, but we've sown the seeds of hatred."

Uri Orr tries to answer them: "If we weren't here, the north could be overrun with terrorists."

The soldiers knit their brows. Maybe the general is right. Maybe the army is right. And yet, they can't shake the feeling that this whole thing is desperately wrong.

Yigal was born on Kibbutz Ginigar. He's convinced that the army shouldn't pull out of Lebanon. He's doing his reserve duty in Lebanon, near Batar al-Shouf. When I spoke with him, he was waiting for General Orr to turn up. His unit is composed of reserve soldiers; it's what's known as "an elite unit" and dates back to the 1967 war. These men are the salt of the earth, they're what makes the army what it is. Yigal was evacuated from Sadot — a settlement in the northern Sinai — and now lives in Nativ Ha'Esreh. He's forthright about what he thinks should be done. "We ought to stay put at the Awali line and impose martial law on south Lebanon — barbed wire and IDs — and that's that."

"And establish settlements?" one of his co-reservists cynically asks.

Yigal was the only person I met that day who thought along those lines. Everyone else I spoke to thinks differently. And they told the general so in no uncertain terms. Either today or tomorrow General Orr will report to the chief of staff and perhaps the defence minister as well. He'll tell them about the morale of the soldiers and though it may not be taken into account when it comes time to make a decision, it will be hard to ignore.

On the way home in the helicopter General Orr sat by himself. He seemed lost in thought. Looking out of the window I saw a pillar of smoke rising off a nearby hill where a battle was being fought between the Druze and the Christians. Two or three kilometres away there's war on and nobody in the chopper seems to give a damn. Death has a thousand faces in Lebanon. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot Supplement, December 28, 1984)

In Wake of Pharmaceutical Scam:

Quality of Drugs Must Be Controlled

Customers at an East Jerusalem pharmacy were scrutinising purchases this week after the arrest of an Israeli-Palestinian counterfeit ring.

by Daoud Kuttab

Two weeks ago Israeli police announced the arrest of a number of Palestinians and Israelis who are suspected of involvement in a counterfeiting ring of Israeli name brand children's drugs.

The counterfeit racket is certainly not new — imitation clothes, toys, sports equipment and eyeglasses are popular items in the local markets. But the appearance of counterfeit medicines is both new and potentially very dangerous.

Local pharmacists and medical experts contacted by *Al Fajr* reacted with shock and dismay to the news and to the idea that the health of young patients could be threatened by money-hungry opportunists.

No Ring of Roses

The ring apparently involved a Palestinian owner of a Jerusalem medical wholesale outlet, an Arab pharmacist who worked for a pharmaceutical factory in Israel and two Israeli drug wholesalers. Others who were unwittingly involved in the ring were printers that printed the cardboard boxes used to pack medicine.

The scant available information indicates that the owner of the Beit al-Maqdess drugstore on Jerusalem's al-Zahra Street collaborated with a pharmacist who had worked in an Israeli drug-manufacturing firm. Through this pharmacist, who is an Arab citizen of Israel, he obtained formulas for a number of children's syrups. Apparently children's medicines were chosen for several reasons, as a Jerusalem pharmacist told *Al Fajr:* "Children's medicines are easy to market, they are always in great demand and they are possible to manufacture at home without any machines." Children are also unlikely to know what effect to expect from the medicine and are less capable of expressing themselves even if they were able to tell the difference. After they obtained formulas for the biggest name brand sellers of children's syrups, the counterfeit ringleaders contacted an Israeli medicine retailer in Tel Aviv in order to obtain raw materials to manufacture facsimiles of the medicines.

The counterfeit medicines were then poured into original bottles collected from patients over a period of time after patients had finished with them and packed in counterfeit printed boxes. Apparently one of the ways to identify the counterfeit boxes was that labels on the imposter boxes had straight corners while the originals were rounded. According to a government release, the counterfeit boxes also had illegible expiration dates, apparently photocopied when the boxes were printed. Local pharmacists said the counterfeiters had apparently tried to exactly duplicate the formulas but there were conflicting reports that the antibiotics used were low strength.

Too Good to Be True

After preparing the counterfeit medicines those involved asked a Tel Aviv-based drug retailer to exchange several thousand boxes of the faked medicine with another brand from his store, a routine and frequent transaction. They also distributed the counterfeit goods by selling them to pharmacies at cut-rate prices.

According to news reports, the ring was discovered when a drug retailer in Tel Aviv became suspicious of a deal he was being offered — if he bought 100 bottles of the children's syrup for the regular price, a salesman enticed, he would get 100 more for free. The Israeli pharmacist checked with the company to determine whether or not they were indeed sponsoring such an attractive sale. The answer, of course, was no.

When Israeli intelligence was notified of the incident, they were at first concerned that a politically-motivated plot was afoot to "poison" Israelis. But when the counterfeit products were traced and investigators discovered that a number of Israeli Jews were involved, they realised that the operation had only financial motives.

The main question on the minds of patients and medical professionals is: Can it happen again?

Palestinian pharmacists say the counterfeit operation was a fluke which is highly unlikely to reoccur. "In 17 years of occupation, this is the first time something like this has been done," a Jerusalem pharmacist, who refused to be identified told *Al Fajr*. Another medical expert pointed to the fact that counterfeiting operations have recently been escalating all over the world with the aid of computers. He claimed that well known name brand imported medicines have been copied and are being sold at much cheaper prices.

Safeguards

The question of local safeguards to protect patients has to be addressed if future attempts to counterfeit medicines are to be prevented.

Ismail Taziz head of the West Bank Pharmacists Union, explained that original medicines are carefully checked for quality by government inspectors. The problem however, is with the drug retailers who have large warehouses in major cities and dispense only small amounts of medicines to pharmacies. These retailers obtain their goods from agents of international companies and from Israeli and Palestinian pharmaceutical factories. Israeli manufacturers and importers are generally scrutinised very carefully. Samples from every batch of medicine are taken to a government laboratory for meticulous quality control checks.

Arab factories in the West Bank have much less stringent controls. In the absence of a national government, most pharmaceutical manufacturers have relatively free reign over the quality of thier products. Except for internal controls and infrequent checks from Israeli military officials, most Palestinian-made drugs are produced without any foolproof safeguards.

Taziz, owner of a pharmacy on Salah al-Din Street in Jerusalem, says that his union has been attempting to form a committee that will be responsible for overseeing quality control of medicines used by West Bank Palestinians. Taziz told *Al Fajr* that the proposed committee would include representatives of pharmaceutical, medical, dental and drug manufacturers. The committee would be responsible for deciding what medicines may be sold and at what price. The committee would also check the quality of the medicines. To date, this proposal has not been accepted by all parties. *Al Fajr* has learned that it is primarily the drug manufacturers who oppose the formation of such a committee because they fear it would hamper the relative freedom they currently enjoy.

Retailers

Wholesale retailers are not usually checked by the government because the products they sell are already certified by government agencies. Despite the recent problem involving the wholesalers, all pharmacists questioned by *Al Fajr* said they would continue to obtain their products through local wholesalers. Every West Bank city has several warehouse wholesalers who buy large quantities of drugs and then dispense them to the small drugstores. Pharmacists noted that if they had to go to the factories themselves, they would have to purchase large quantities.

Only Tawfiq Dkedek owner of Al-Ram Pharmacy, said he prefers to buy his medicines from the factory, even if it means higher costs. Dkedek said it is much easier to return medicines when their expiration runs out if they were originally purchased from the manufacturer or import agent.

In response to questions about safeguards for medicines purchased from retailers pharmacists said they would never buy any medicine from a salesman they didn t know or from an individual who was not properly trained or authorised to dispense drugs.

Pharmacies

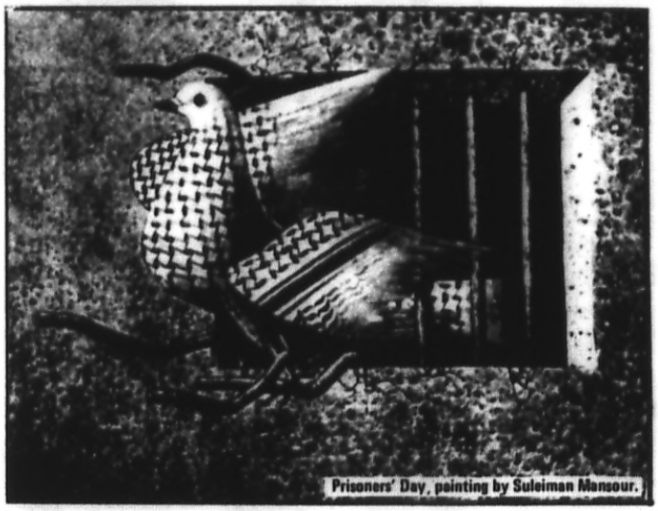
After the medicines are purchased and placed on the shelf, very little can be done to check their standards or authenticity. Health Ministry inspectors make routine visits to all pharmacies once every few months, usually to inspect cleanliness and daily operations in the pharmacies, not quality control of the active ingredients of medicine on the shelves. Pharmacies that have a reputation for low standards or are suspected of narcotics dealing are more frequently checked. Some are even visited daily by inspectors, usually in cases of narcotics suspicion. Inspectors are supposed to make sure that pharmacies are being operated only by the licensed pharmacists who were given the permit to open the store and not by unlicensed employees. Pharmacists are only supposed to leave the premises for lunch or in cases of emergency.

Despite the fact that the latest counterfeit case is considered only a fluke by members of the medical community, strong safeguards must be enacted in order to avoid any reoccurrance. Furthermore especially in the West Bank where the Israeli authorities don't care one way or the other about quality of medicines, the pharmacies must be subjected to much closer scrutiny. All involved in the medical profession have to take seriously the delicacy of their profession and guarantee residents that every effort to keep them healthy will be given top priority, irrespective of financial considerations. Professional unions, the only national bodies we have under occupation, must find a way to surmount the obstacles and provide the needed apparatus for guaranteeing a healthy future for young and old alike.

Eid will Appear in the Northern Neighbourhood

The following short story, *Eid Will Appear in the Northern Neighbourhood* by Sami Kilani, is written from personal experience. Kilani, from Ya'abad village in the West Bank, was a physics lecturer at Najah University in Nablus until he was placed under a town arrest order by occupation authorities. For the past two years he has been forbidden to leave his village boundaries except for weekly "proofs of presence" at the Jenin police station.

The narrator in *Eid* speaks of the stoicism which hides the personal and collective suffering and oppression of the Palestinians behind an ever-present ability to cope One of the purposes of town arrest, writes Kilani, is the Israelis' need to destroy even the strength passed on from one oppressed person to another.



Prisoners' Day, painting by Suleiman Mansour.

Why do you suddenly appear, Eid, and then disappear? I wish the bus would stop once more so that I could get off and follow you wherever you are going. To hell with all town arrest orders, "proofs of presence" and punishments for disobeying military orders. Let them all go to hell. I don't need anyone to tell me they are going to hell because I know that for sure. But I wish they would vanish right this moment.

But the bus starts up in the opposite direction. Through his rear view mirror, the driver chats with the passenger sitting behind him. He shifts gear and speeds forward as Eid al-Mahmoud crosses the road with two children heading towards the nearby village.

Why are you looking backward? Do you want Eid to see you? How will he benefit from seeing me? Is he going to remember me? What if I got off the bus and yelled at him — Eid wait! Then I would walk toward him and greet him — "How are you Eid? Where do you live? Did you marry? Are these your children? Where does your mother live? Are you going to tell me she died? I do not want to die. I would love a long life. I want to live to see a day we'll all celebrate. So please Eid, don't tell me she died?'

Before or after you answer my questions you may ask me in your familiar shy manner: "But who are you? What village are you from?" It is your right to ask me this, Eid. The young usually remember the old but the old do not remember the young. I'm not going to tell you who I am. Try to remember your neighbours in the northern neighbourhood. Are you going to search your mind a bit and recall? Then you'll start asking me questions and remember the old days in the northern neighbourhood. I am that child who always used to follow in the footsteps of you and other youths. You were in high school and I was in elementary. You were like a model to me. Sometimes you laughed with me; other times you yelled at me. Your discussions used to please me and sometimes I would get upset when the shopkeeper, Abu Kamal, attacked your political talk and interests He used to say, "You are only the son of refugees," and order you to earn your bread instead of talking politics. I would attack him in your defence but he would tell me to shut up and order me off the straw stool I used to sit on.

Why Eid, did you appear — just like that — and then disappear in the village? Do you live here? I don't think so because you asked the driver about this intersection. So who do you have here, Eid? Have you met new relatives who live here? Did you leave the refugee camp after you left our village? How can I find the answers to all these questions?

You walk towards the village and the bus continues on the road which the driver seems to have memorised. Don't blame me, Eid. If I got off here, I'd have to wait for a long time to catch another bus and I'd be late. I am supposed to be where I'm going in half an hour where I'll sign some record and write the date and the time to prove that I'm "present." That s what we call "proof of presence." Are you acquainted with these terms: detention, trial, town arrest, administrative detention, proof of presence? There is no doubt that you've experienced at least one of these.

Why didn't you let me know you were on the bus? I would have told you all about proof of presence and town arrest. Once a friend told me that I'm launching a new philosophical notion: I sign, therefore I exist.

How did you suddenly appear from the ruins of history? Dwelling on this takes my mind off the road. I become hostage to memories. Thank God I'm alone in my seat so no one will snap me out of this vast sea I'm swimming in. The bus stops. Some passengers leave from the rear. A voice inquires about the intersection to the village. I become very alert. I look from the window to see who is asking. I glimpse his face. It's the same face I used to see when it would pop out of a hole in the ground to drink the water or tea neighbours would offer when he used to bore holes in the ground for the village's electricity poles. At that time Salhah al Arja's daughter would warn us not to touch those copper wires stretched glistening on the ground because she heard somewhere that death would befall anyone who did so. We used to laugh at her before you would descend back into the hole and continue to dig.

This was the same face, but now I notice some aging sketched upon this new face. You also had two children in tow. So did you marry and have children? Congratulations, Eid.

If someone were sitting next to me, I'd recount to him our days together in the northern neighbourhood when we used to be one big family living in mud houses with no locked doors. When there was joy in one house the others would all rejoice; if sadness overcame one, the rest would share it too. We were all children then, Eid living in the same village. Even though we were born to different mothers, we were still like brothers. Taher's mother used to brandish the thick stick at us when we would disturb her husband's sleep. She would order us in an authoritative voice to get her whatever she wanted. Your mother was exactly the opposite — she would always praise us and talk kindly to us, asking us to fill a jar of water or buy something from the store. Between Taher's mother and Eid's mother there was a big difference in motherhood.

How funny that your sudden appearance unlocked this treasury of memories. How can I recollect myself now when pieces of me are scattered over the many years we lived together? Some of our pieces were crushed by the days that followed the war which they called the "Six Day War" — the June catastrophy, the third war which divided the neighbourhood. Later I had a new neighbourhood, school, prison and many different things.

You've come now to remind me of all those days. To whom can I tell all this, Eid, when I am alone on this bus? I won't try to conceal from you that this daily trip has made me more withdrawn, even though when I talk about this trip to people I'll speak with a loud voice about how happy I am about it. What else could give me more pleasure than this and not cause me any trouble? It is our habit to act as if we are bigger than our difficulties so that no one will think badly of us. We say that we're not afraid of prison. We are honest about that, Eid. We act happy and say that we live happily. Acting stronger than everything around us runs in our blood. We do not confess our agony because we are afraid the one who hears us will be one of us.

Your mother often said you didn't need anything. That you had the bread, sugar and flour, everything, thank God. She knew that you used to go to bed hungry at night, Eid. She'd tell this to those closest to her whenever she felt a little doubt about not telling the truth. Sometimes she'd come to ask for things she needed, cursing poverty.

Is anything more difficult than finding someone to talk with about those days — to tell them all these old secrets which you aroused in me with your appearance?

What can I tell you, Eid. How can you appear like this and then disappear without a word of greeting? Let's assume that I'm free or that I'll soon be free — to whom shall I turn to find out about you?

The bus is nearing the city entrance and it's almost noon. I will head straight to the police station to sign my name and prove that I am here. Then I'll come back to wait for the bus and hope you'll be at the intersection and you will get on the bus so I can call you to sit by me.

Why do they despise you so much, Eid? Why are they trying to prevent this opportunity from recurring? They don't want me to meet you so I won't get strength from you. Is their intelligence becoming so advanced? Who could have told them I saw you? Or was the whole thing just a coincidence?

I entered the police station and went to the officer's room to sign. I thought about telling him what happened, to tell him that I benefitted from this trip. Can you understand what I was thinking? He asked me to wait until he finished what he had in his hand so he could give me a new order. Do you know what was in that order, Eid? The order states that I should show proof of presence once a week instead of every day. I guess they thought it was too much for me to see you, Eid. Don't get upset, my friend. We will certainly meet in the northern neighbourhood one day.

(Translation: Al Ittihad, June 1984)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The clashes betwen Israeli soldiers and settlers on one hand and the Palestinian population on the other were the major topics covered in all the Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories.

The arbitrary round-ups of national activists in Dheisheh camp as well as the continuing provocative presence of Rabbi Levinger and his settler and MK supporters there received extensive coverage.

The shooting of the Israeli soldier in al-Bireh and the subsequent curfew imposed on the twin cities and the nearby refugee camp made front-page headlines. Editorials written in three local papers on the subject were censored.

Stop playing with Fire

The Israeli minister of defence's visit to Washington, DC and its results provide a demonstration of what the Arab rulers will bear in Washington during their forthcoming visits. The Reagan administration wanted to save them the trouble of listening to further explanations. So it conveyed to them through its generous aid to Israel that Reagan in his second term of office is the same Reagan of the first term.

There will be no change of policy. It is not a coincidence that the American press devoted extensive coverage to statements by US officials on the American attitude toward the Middle East problem at this time. One such statement is that the US position calls for "direct negotiations as the only way to achieve a settlement." Shultz said that if anyone asked for American mediation they would ask him, "What concessions are you ready to make?" The problem is, all the concessions seem to be one-sided. The Arabs are supposed to concede everything for peace.

The Arab rulers are familiar with such statements and more. Therefore, they are trying to find an answer to Shultz's question. On the basis of this, King Hussein asked the PLO to agree to 242 and to accept the United States' project — that is, to relinquish an independent state.

Yet these are not the first concessions made to Shultz and his predecessors. We all recall that the September massacres were in return for implementing the Rogers plan, which never materialised. This is only one example. And the attempts to extract more concessions will never cease.

We would like to say to all participants in the "new game," "Stop Playing With Fire!" Our national fate will be defended by the Palestinian people.

AL TALIA
January 31

The National cause and Solution

When Sheikh Sa'eh expresses his willingness to go to Damascus and conduct dialogue with the Syrian regime, he renews PLO concern for transcending all differences and overcoming all obstacles for the Palestinian cause.

Sheikh Sa'eh made it clear that the cause is not only Palestinian but also an Arab cause. This deep realisation of the cause is what the Syrian regime lacks because it puts all these obstacles in the way of the PLO. How can the Syrian regime reconciliate its slogans and its actions against the PLO?

This contradiction is the dilemma of the Syrian regime at present. By his clear statement, Sheikh Sa'eh wanted to reveal this contradiction and to put the Syrian regime to the test.

The PLO will not lose hope in its national pursuit.

AL FAJR
February 1

The Clear Position

Palestinian leaders have made their position clear regarding the proposed solutions. Their statement is centred on adherence to the PNC's resolutions. So they reject any solution that ignores their basic rights.

While rejecting such solutions, the Palestinian leaders expressed approval of an international peace conference. We believe the factions that were unable to attend the 17th PNC session are required to join the march and abort efforts to create an alternative PLO.

AL SHA AB
February 2

Lesson from Lebanon

Israel is reported to have completed the withdrawal of its equipment and the dismantling of its installations along the Awali River in preparation for the withdrawal of its forces by the 18th of February.

The Israeli withdrawal from the Sidon area will have many repercussions because more than a hundred thousand refugees live there. They need security and protection.

Israel, as manifested by the statement of its defence minister, has come to the conclusion that the political map of the area cannot be effected through military force. But this conclusion has come after Israel made many sacrifices.

All Israel's declared achievements in Lebanon are mirages now. Israel will realise sooner or later that the Palestinian problem has to be solved through negotiations with the Palestinian people. Israel has to face the facts of the cause.

AL QUDS
February 2

Continued Complication

International law defines the West Bank and Gaza Strip as territories occupied by war. Therefore, UN laws are supposed to apply to these areas.

But what is happening in the West Bank and Gaza is contrary to what the UN laws and conventions stipulate. Sometimes Ottoman Turkish laws are applied and at other times the British Mandate laws. Yet at some other times the Jordanian laws or the regulations of the Israeli Defence Ministry are applied.

Yesterday, settlers blocked West Bank roads thus taking the law into their own hands. The day before yesterday the Israeli authorities arrested a number of Dheisheh residents. A few weeks ago two Arab buses were attacked by Israeli extremists; and prior to that the authorities arrested a settler group that carried out anti-Arab operations.

Shimon Peres stressed yesterday in his cabinet meeting that the Israeli government will use the lenient approach toward the Arabs and that all are equal before the law, although Peres himself knows for sure that the opposite is true.

On the other hand, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is officially responsible for the occupied territories stated that he will apply new security measures in the West Bank. Are Rabin's measures compatible with the "lenient approach" touted by Peres?

Meanwhile, we, the inhabitants of the occupied territories, wonder who governs the West Bank. Is it the settlers? Or is it the prime minister or his defence minister? Or is it all of them? Or is it according to what the political atmosphere at the present moment allows?

AL QUDS
February 3

Who Governs the West Bank and Gaza Strip?

All parties concerned in the area's problem assert that this is the best time to settle it. Meanwhile, the problem grows more complex daily. The US never ceases to hint and to state that the parties are really seeking peace. But it is not doing anything to promote the chances for peace. It only supports the Israeli position through aid to the Israeli economy and through ignoring Israeli practices in the occupied territories.

Yitzhak Rabin stated that Israel would turn to peace after withdrawal from Lebanon; but he did not say how.

In view of the present stalemate, any peace plans will remain a guess and speculation far removed from reality. Logic dictates that the Palestinian problem be solved before the Lebanese problem which is but a by-product of the former. Yet the Israeli withdrawal will be completed during this year. This means that both Lebanon and the occupied territories will continue to suffer.

All parties concerned in the area problem should move quickly to solve it. Wasting time only complicates the problem further, and misses the chances for a peaceful solution. Thus the interests of all the parties involved will be greatly damaged.

AL QUDS
February 5

Economic Measures Cause Controversy

A travel tax of US$200 overseas and US$50 to Egypt, a 15% tax on plane tickets, price increases ranging from 2-20 percent, and a three percent hike in the tax on new cars were a few of the new economic measures in the Israeli government's "Package Deal B" that went into effect in Israel and the occupied territories February 4 for eight months.

The new package deal is sure to create as much controversy as its predecessor, Package Deal A, aroused three months ago.

Israeli car importers for one are considering filing a suit in High Court against the Israeli Ministry of Finance. They argue that the latest deal will force them to take a great loss and to dismiss more than 20 percent of their employees. Package Deal B allowed price increases of only 12 percent on newly imported cars. Importers say they would have to raise prices by 37 to 45 percent to make a profit, according to the Israeli press.

The most controversial measure was the US$200 travel tax and the proposed 15 percent tax on all airline tickets. These measures — which apply to all Israeli citizens and Palestinian residents of the occupied territories as well — will make travel very expensive and could seriously hurt travel agents, airlines and the like. Members of various political parties, including the ruling Likud-Labour coalition, and airline representatives voiced vehement opposition and requested meetings with cabinet members to discuss the issue. The Israeli Knesset finance committee, composed of Likud and Labour members, deferred February 6 a Knesset vote on the tax proposal for one week.

The cost of postal and telephone services were raised 100 percent.

Consumer products were divided into three lists in the new package deal. The first list specifies 300 items whose prices were raised 5 percent, including meat products, fish and bread. The second list allowed increases of 2 to 20 percent on products including electric appliances and imported cars. The third list specified products which remained at the same price. The third list, which is the most disadvantageous to both producers and retailers because it does not incorporate the 27 percent devaluation of the Israeli shekel over the last three months, includes Israeli-manufactured refrigerators and some food products.

The new package deal "will hurt occupied territories residents more than Israelis," according to Fayeq Barakat, head of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce. He said that "since we lack the sophisticated economic infrastructure of Israel, we will be the hardest hit." Barakat was referring to the total lack in the occupied territories of the financial support of banks and large industries which Israel enjoys. He also said that Palestinians, unlike Israelis, cannot voice opposition to any sector of the new deal. "We have no choice but to accept the impositions of such experimental economic measures on our economy."

Settlers

Continued from page 4.

schoolchildren and snarled traffic for two-and-a-half hours until 7:30 am when it was time for them to go to work.

Settlers encountered some resistance on the Nablus-Tulkarm road north of Jeruslaem when a group of Palestinian youths attacked their roadblock with stones. The settlers fired back with their automatic rifles, seized one youth and turned him over to the Israeli army.

Barricaded roads in Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron and Jericho were cleared without incident.

Elsewhere, in Tel Rumeida near Hebron — where Shamir had reassured settlers three days earlier — 23 almond saplings belonging to Arabs were uprooted.

Until the arrest of the Jewish terrorist settler underground last year, settlers routinely used violent and terroristic methods to intimidate Palestinians, disperse demonstrators and confiscate land, on occasion killing and wounding several Arabs. The latest threats from settlers could mean a return to such tactics, which they label "self-defence" and employ in the name of "security" in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

al-Bireh

Continued from page 1.

others wounded in three Molotov cocktail and shooting attacks against Israeli targets in the West Bank. An Israeli civilian died from wounds received January 27 when two petrol bombs were thrown at his vehicle as it drove through Qalqilya on the way to Kfar Saba across the "green line," dividing the West Bank from Israel. One of the bottles landed inside the car through an open window, setting it on fire. He was transferred to hospital with severe burns where he died on January 31.

An Israeli military vehicle on patrol in central Nablus was attacked with a Molotov cocktail January 29. Israeli military sources said there were no casualties.

In a third incident, an Israeli bus driver was wounded by gunshots which fired from an automatic gun at an Israeli bus near Neve Daniel settlement January 30, south of Bethlehem. A curfew was imposed on the nearby villages of al-Khader, Husan and Nahalin for two days immediately following the attack.

On February 5, a fire bomb was thrown at a police post in Arroub refugee camp north of Hebron. It exploded but caused no casualties or damage, *The Jerusalem Post* reported.

CALENDAR

February 9 — 8:30 pm

Baroque Music: *Violin, Cello and Harpsichord Works by Bach, Le Clair, Rameau and Lotti* at the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem. Tel: (02) 719927

At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, Tel: (02) 288189

February 9 — 5:00 pm

Symposium: *Led by Peter Sinai and titled "Political Theatre in Europe and the US." (English)*

February 10 — 7:00 pm

Theatre: *An evening of improvisation with El-Hakawati.*

February 12 & 15 — 9:00 pm

Theatre: *New tourist show called "1000 Nights Plus 1 Night (For You!" — US$9.*

February 13 — 3:30 pm

Symposium: *"Discussion with Local Journalists." (Arabic)*

February 14 — 6:00 pm

Film: *"Moliere."*

February 15 — 8:00 pm

Scrabble Evening. *All invited.* Casual and classicial styles played. Prizes for winners. YMCA, East Jerusalem.

February 15 — 2:00 pm

Reading of Palestinian Prison Literature: *Sponsored by the Federation of Palestinian Writers.* Held at the Federation of Unions, Beit Hanina. (Arabic)

Punitive Measures

Continued from page 3.

been interviewed by the Israeli media on the topic. Moshe Arens, the former defence minister, told Israel TV February 6 the existing military law should be altered to allow the army to summarily expel residents of the West Bank and Gaza and to take away their right to appeal against deportation.

Israeli Minister of Trade and Industry Ariel Sharon, from Likud, is spearheading the call for "selective deportations" and other draconian measures against suspected stone throwers and their families.

During a no-confidence motion against the Israeli government which was presented to the Israeli Knesset February 5 by the ultra-rightwing Tehiya Party (and defeated by an overwhelming majority), several Knesset members from the ruling coalition issued indirect threats against Palestinian residents of the occupied territories. Knesset member Avner Shaki, from the National Religious Party which is part of the ruling coalition, called for taking action against what he labelled "hotbeds of nationalism in Arab universities, such as Bir Zeit."

Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, from Labour, defended the policies of his government in reply to the no-confidence motion by saying that severe measures are already being applied. He pointed out that the maximum penalty for throwing stones now is 20 years' imprisonment. The sentence was raised last year after pressure from settlers. "Prison sentences of four to five years have actually been handed down," he was quoted as saying.

Rabin also made a warning to Jordan, by accusing Amman of becoming "a centre for the planning and ordering of [PLO] attacks in Israel."

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, a top leader in the Likud Party, reiterated Rabin's message. "The government will act with all its might against every attempt to undermine and harm the inhabitants [settlers] of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank]," he said. Levy stressed that Israelis "are not living in the West Bank as foreigners or conquerors," and that therefore they will defend their citizens.

Knesset member Mohammad Watad, of MAPAM, condemned the killing of an Israeli soldier in Ramallah February 4 and of another Israeli in Qalqilya January 27 and blamed the incident on "fanatic nationalists." He, however, pointed out that the presence of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories provokes opposition to the Israeli occupation of the region.

Occupation To Blame

Knesset member Mei Wilner, from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), attacked the calls to impose an "iron fist policy" on the occupied territories and blamed the Israeli occupation authorities for the incidents which took place in the area. He said that the only way to put an end to bloodshed in the region is by Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state alongside Israel. Wilner also blamed Jewish settlers in the occupied territories for the state of hysteria which developed and said that the settlers are seeking to force the government to act according to their wishes.

MK Matityahu Peled, from the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), said that Israeli authorities in the occupied territories were meddling with the law rather than applying it. He attacked the position taken by Rabin during the Knesset debate and said that Rabin defended himself against Tehiya's Geula Cohen's attacks by taking pride in tougher punishment measures.

MK Shulamit Aloni, from the oppostion Citizens' Rights Movement, blamed the government for "submitting to extremist nationalists who exploit every misfortune for their own interests."

SOS

Continued from page 1.

On the fifth search for his 20-year-old son, January 30, soldiers took Ali outside in the rain and severely beat him for three hours, causing him to lose consciousness. Farraj was hospitalised in nearby Beit Jala Hospital and treated for a broken rib.

Another Dheisheh journalist, Hassan Abd al-Jawwad, head of the Dheisheh Youth Centre and member of the Committee to Defend Dheisheh, called upon progressive and peace-loving forces to "intervene and guarantee the cancellation of oppressive practices against the Bethlehem camp." Abd al-Jawwad said that the camp has been suffering from a virtual round-the-clock curfew over the past few weeks since the camp has been full of soldiers and settlers.

The Dheisheh spokesperson reiterated that camp residents have used every legal method to protest their situation, including applying to Israeli courts, filing complaints with the police and publishing their plight, but "all to no avail." Abd al-Jawwad attacked the Israeli media for "waging a campaign against Dheisheh, portraying it as a centre of radicalism and extremism that has to be destroyed by all means."

Israel Shahak, chairperson of the Israeli League, pointed to the fact that soldiers, police and settlers have the "legal" right to confiscate IDs and that without an ID in hand a Palestinian is in jeopardy of arrest, harassment and beatings. He said that the League is trying to win a temporary solution of forcing Israeli personnel to provide a receipt to local respondents in place of confiscated IDs.

Shahak, a professor of organic chemistry at Hebrew University, said the Israeli press had displayed racism by repeating government accusations that Palestinians who were arrested were automatically "inciters" but never applying the description to Levinger and the supporters of Israeli terror movements who aim to expel Palestinians.

Shahak, al-Ghazi and lawyer Felicia Langer made several references in their brief talks to the similarity in the use of collective punishment, identity papers and storming raids for Palestinians today and Jewish victims historically.

WEEKLY REVIEW

An YMMA (Young Men's Muslim Association) exhibit of national products, held in al-Ram on February 2, 1985./AO photo.

January 30 1985

ISRAELI BUS ATTACKED

ARTAS — Israel Radio reported that an Israeli Egged bus came under fire near Artas village, south of Bethlehem. The bus was on its way to Kiryat Arba. The bus driver was injured. The radio also said that some shots were fired at the Neve Daniel settlement in the same area. Israeli forces cordoned off the area.

3 BETHLEHEM VILLAGES UNDER CURFEW

BETHLEHEM — Israeli forces clamped a curfew on Husan, al-Khader and Nahalin villages in the Bethlehem area. The curfew was imposed following the bus incident.

2000 FILES SAVED FROM NABLUS COURT

NABLUS — About 2000 files have been salvaged from the Nablus court arson last month. The fire was estimated to have destroyed about 10,000 files, all related to land ownership deeds in the Nablus district.

PLEA TO JORDAN

GAZA — The deposed mayor of Gaza, Haj Rashad al-Shawwa, sent a message to the Jordanian minister of the occupied territories calling on him to reopen Jordanian markets to Gazan citrus.

STIFF SENTENCES FOR DHEISHEH YOUTHS

DHEISHEH — An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Mohammed Mousa Issa to five years in prison and three years suspended and Mohammed Hussein Ibrahim Ajimih to four years in prison and three years suspended. The two Dheisheh camp residents were charged with demonstrating, possession of explosives and throwing two Molotov cocktails at an Israeli bus.

January 31, 1985

PETROL BOMB AT BANK LEUMI IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Israel Radio reported that a petrol bomb was thrown at a Bank Leumi branch in Nablus. The report said there were no damages.

NO APPEAL FOR 4 PRISONERS

LYDDA — An Israeli military court of appeals in Lydda dismissed the appeal of four Palestinian detainees from Ain al-Hilweh, Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. The four were each sentenced two months ago to 13 years in prison for membership in Palestinian organisations. They were arrested on June 5, 1984 in the Golan Heights on their way inside the "green line" on a military mission. The four are: Khaled 'Udeh al-Haj Ahmad (Sabra), Mohammed Salamah (Shatila), Haytham Shehadeh (Ain al-Hilweh), Fadi Anis (Ain al-Hilweh).

UM AL-FAHM MINORS DETAINED AGAIN

UM AL-FAHM — An Israeli magistrates court in Khedairah ordered the rearrest of minors Bassam Mahamid and Na'il Mahamid for giving contradictory testimony at the police station and court. They testified against eight residents accused of throwing stones at police cars and demonstrating during Kahane's attempt to enter Um al-Fahm last August.

BALATA YOUTH CENTRE TO REOPEN

BALATA — Renovation was completed in the youth centre at Balata refugee camp which the Israelis closed three years ago. Advocate Felicia Langer obtained permission from the Israeli authorities to reopen the centre.

SEARCH AND ARREST CAMPAIGN

BETHLEHEM — A curfew is still in effect in al-Khader, Battir, Nahalin and Husan villages in the Bethlehem district following the shooting at an Israeli Egged bus.

Israeli Minister of State Yosef Shapira publicly requested that Prime Minister Peres deport the bus attackers and their supporters.

HEATH MEETS WITH WEST BANKERS

JERUSALEM — British ex-Prime Minister Edward Heath met with a number of West Bank personalities. He listened to their views on the current situation in the occupied territories. The meeting took place at the British Consulate in East Jerusalem.

QUANDT MEETS FREIJ

BETHLEHEM — William Quandt, an American analyst who served in the State Department under the Carter administration, met with Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij. The two discussed the current situation in the West Bank. Quandt arrived in the country via Damascus and Amman.

WOMAN JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

JERUSALEM — Salwa Kayed Hadib, a Palestinian woman from Jerusalem, was sentenced to eight months in prison by a military court in Lydda on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

MOLOTOVS IN TULKARM AND ARROUB

A petrol bomb was tossed at an Israeli Egged bus near the Tulkarm refugee camp but no one was hurt, Israel Radio reported.

The report said another petrol bomb was found in the yard of the home of the *mukhtar* of Arroub camp in the Hebron district.

ISRAELI CAR STONED

An Israeli car passing through the main street in Beit Sahour was stoned, Israel Radio reported. The vehicle's windshield was smashed but the driver was unhurt.

CRACKDOWN ON NAJAH STUDENTS AND LECTURERS

NABLUS — Military court in Jenin began hearing the case of lecturer Munthir Uthman of Najah University in Nablus who has been in detention for 10 days for unknown reasons.

Advocate Felicia Langer of Jerusalem submitted a request to the court to release Hisham al-Zu'bi, assistant director of the public relations department in the university and Adnan al-Damiri, former secretary of the student council. Both men have been in detention for one week for unknown reasons.

Also in detention are students Akef Wahid al-Hamdallah and Walid Hamdan, both from Najah University and both arrested without charge. The court turned down a request by advocate Langer to release the two on bail.

February 1, 1985

SETTLERS DESTROY TREES

HEBRON — Jewish settlers from Kiryat Arba uprooted 50 olive trees from the Tel Rumeida plot owned by Arab residents from Hebron, Israel Radio reported.

The radio said settlers destroyed the trees because the land they were planted on was not fenced. This is the second time settlers have destroyed trees in the same area.

February 2, 1985

DIRECTOR RELEASED

HEBRON — Israeli authorities released the administrative director of a health centre in Hebron, Mahmoud Ahmad Jaber al-Rajoub, after he completed a four-month prison sentence and paid a IS3 million fine. Rajoub was arrested on "security charges."

14 JABALYA HOUSES TARGETED

JABALYA — The Israeli Civil Administration officer in the Gaza Strip has notified 14 families from Jabalya refugee camp that their homes will soon be demolished on the pretext that they were constructed without a permit

The families were given one week to destroy the houses themselves.

STUDENTS JAILED FINED

NABLUS — Eight students from Nablus were sentenced by an Israeli military court to prison sentences ranging from five to eight months on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

The court sentenced Nabil Jawdeh, 19, Mohammed Mahmoud Jawdeh, 18, and Amar Ja'arah to one month in prison, four months suspended and a IS100 000 fine.

Mustafa Mohammed al-Kim, 20, was sentenced to 58 days in prison, five months suspended and an IS100,000 fine. He was found quilty of breaking the iron gate blocking the entrance to Hittin Street in Nablus.

Yahiya Mohammed, Majed Salah and Bassam Abu Ramadan, all 16 years old, were each sentenced to five months in prison and a IS100 000 fine.

MERCHANTS INTERROGATED

NABLUS — Israeli soldiers summoned dozens of shopowners on Faisal Street in Nablus to the police station and questioned them about a recent incident of stone-throwing. They were released after questioning.

QALQILYA HOME 'BESIEGED'

QALQILYA — Resident Abd al-Qader Uweisat of Qalqilya says Israeli border police have blocked up all entrances to his house, which is located near the police station. When he objected, Uweisat said he was threatened by police that unless he stopped protesting these measures, he would be evicted from his home. The harassment has been going on for several months.

HEBRON TEACHER SACKED

KHARAS — The Israeli officer in charge of education in the

TOP: Hassan Abd al-Jawad speaks at the "SOS" press conference at Bet Agron for Dheisheh camp February 5, 1985. BOTTOM: A road block at Dheisheh camp: soldiers stop Palestinians and check IDs – all for security./AO photo

civil administration has ordered that Yousef Mohammed Ibrahim al-Haroub, from the village of Kharas in the Hebron district, be dismissed from his job as of January 15, 1985.

Al-Haroub, an English language teacher in a Hebron school, was appointed by the Hebron education and cultural director in September 1984. No reasons were given for the dismissal.

4 YOUTHS JAILED

MUGHIER — Four youths from the village of Mughier in the Ramallah district were sentenced by an Israeli military court to various prison terms on security charges.

Rafiq Mohammed Hamed Abu Ulya, 17, was sentenced to two years in prison and three years suspended; Attallah Mohammed Hamed Abu Ulya, 19, was sentenced to two years in prison and two years suspended; Omar Ali Hamad Abu Ulya, 17, received 10 months in prison and 10 months suspended; and Bashir Mousa, 17, also got 10 month in prison and 10 months suspended.

February 3, 1985

FIRE BOMB AT MUKHTAR'S HOUSE

BETHLEHEM — A petrol bomb was thrown at the home of *mukhtar* Mohammed Shehahdeh al-Sheikh in the centre of Bethlehem. The bomb caused some damage but no one was injured.

February 4, 1985

MERCHANTS IRED

BETHLEHEM — Merchants in the old commercial market in Bethlehem are continuing to express resentment at a new municipal tax levied on them by the municipality The tax bills range from JD300 to 1000.

JERUSALEMITE JAILED

JERUSALEM — An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Mohammed Abd al-Ghani Sunufrut of Jerusalem to one-and-a-half years in prison on charges of transferring information from cells working in the West Bank to their leaderships in Jordan

Sunufrut, 41 is the father of nine children.

JAILED

ARAK AL-TAYEH — A military court in Nablus sentenced Munjid Hassan Jawdeh, from the village of Arak al-Tayeh, to one-and-a-half years in prison on charges of inciting and demonstrating.

The court also sentenced students Nabil Adel Jawdeh and Mohammed Mahmoud Jawdeh, from the same village, to one month in prison, three months suspended and a IS100,000 fine.

February 5, 1985

TWO PETROL BOMBS IN ARROUB

ARROUB — Israel Radio reported last night that two petrol bombs were thrown at the police post in Arroub camp north of Hebron. No injuries were reported.

CONSERVATIONISTS ABUSE NATURE

'ARA — Members of the so-called Nature Conservationists group uprooted 20 olive trees owned by a resident of 'Ara village in the Triangle. When the owner protested this act, they told him the trees were an obstacle in the way of military exercises.

JERUSALEMITE SENTENCED 3.5 YEARS

LYDDA — A military court in Lydda sentenced 21-year-old Maher Ibrahim al-Tutanji from Jerusalem to three-and-a-half years in jail and three-and-a-half years suspended. He was charged with membership in an illegal organisation.

YOUTH SENTENCED

BURIN — An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 17-year old student Abd al-Nasser Mahmoud Ma'rouf from Burin village in the Nablus district to one-and-a-half years in jail and two years suspended for throwing a stone at an Israeli military patrol.

STIFF SENTENCES FOR GAZANS

GAZA — An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Adnan Subhi Radwan to six years in prison and three years suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and detonatng bombs.

The court also sentenced Suleiman Ibrahim Amish to three-and-a-half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended on charges of membership.

ZAYYAD CABLES PERES

NAZARETH — MK Tawfik Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth, called on Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to allow the burial of the late Fahd al-Qawasmeh in his hometown of Hebron.

"The government's decision not to allow the burial of martyr Qawasmeh in Hebron is unjust and contravenes international laws " he said in a cable to the prime minister.

Interview...

Q: They understand, but they keep on marching.

A: That's the crux of the problem — not the number of people who understand what I mean by "the decisive process in the history of the state of Israel." But do you know what I mean by "the decisive process?" It's the seventh day — the day after the Six Day War when we had to decide and when we could have decided whether the war was fought for defensive purposes or for conquest. We decided that it had been a war of conquest and set ourselves on a course that is propelling us to the certain destruction of the state of Israel.

Q: Do you foresee any chance of a change?

A: It's impossible to predict the future. What seems more and more likely — though I have no way of being sure — is that Israel will be forced into accepting an externally imposed solution.

Q: That will force us to survive?

A: Yes. The irony will be that the gentiles will save us. But how can one know what position the White House Cowboy will take in the next four years? The Americans care no more about us than they did about the Vietnamese.

Q: And Raphael Eitan may wind up owning a restaurant in California — like the South Vietnamese chief of staff.

A: I have no way of knowing that. Perhaps he'll remain here. As a true Zionist, he would probably remain in the state of Israel, were it to return to its pre-1967 borders. I don't question the fact that he's a Zionist. However, he's also a fascist.

Q: Did you justify the 1948 war?

A: I don't justify war — period. No war. But there are wars that are fought for comprehensible reasons. In 1948 I fought fully conscious of what I was doing.

Q: How do you feel at present about draft resistance? About those who refuse to participate in the war?

A: They are people who don't want to lend a hand to criminality.

Q: What should those who are exempt from the draft do?

A: They should try to bring about a situation in which there are thousands of resisters. That way the whole thing would burst.

Q: In other words, civil rebellion?

A: Yes, yes, yes. If a person isn't a consistent pacifist — and I am not — that ought to be the objective. I don't understand why so many intelligent people consider civil war to be the most horrible thing imaginable. Why is a war fought against an external enemy comprehensible and deemed necessary while a war against an internal enemy is ruled out?

Q: Because in a civil war you kill your own countrymen.

A: In a war, one kills other human beings. (Translation: Hadashot, January 25, 1985).

Dheisheh Under Siege: A Report from UNRWA

The barricades are back up at Dheisheh Palestine refugee camp, just south of Bethlehem in the occupied West Bank, and UNRWA's services to the camp's 6000 residents have been affected as a result.

All roads into the camp are now blocked by stacks of cement-filled barrels topped by sharp iron bars and coils of barbed wire. Only one narrow pedestrian entrance, at the far northern end of the camp, remains open.

The new blockages — the most recent one was completed by the Israeli authorities in mid-January — left the camp clinic and the office of the camp services officer isolated from the centre of the camp, until UNRWA engineers opened a gate in an internal wall. The gate allowed the Agency's sanitation labourers to get in and out with the wheelbarrow in which they cart rubbish to the garbage skip located just outside the camp's front gate. Now, residents use the same internal gate to get to the clinic, which sees about 100 patients a day.

Circuitous Journey

Still, because the front gate is kept locked for security reasons, camp residents must make a circuitous journey through Dheisheh's steep, winding alleyways in order to get to the main road to visit nearby shops or to catch buses and taxis to work. One of the few exits involved crossing the yard and patio of one family's shelter. Getting anywhere is particularly difficult for the camp's elderly and disabled residents.

The Israeli military authorities who govern the West Bank erected the barriers following incidents in which stones were thrown from inside or nearby the camp at passing Israeli cars and buses. Dheisheh sprawls for about a kilometre alongside the main Jerusalem-Hebron highway, which carries traffic to and from the big Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba near Hebron.

The leader of the Kiryat Arba settlers, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, has been living in a van parked opposite Dheisheh since mid-October in a "sit-in" over the stone-throwing incidents.

Levinger maintains that the Israeli government has not done enough to guarantee the security of Jewish travellers along the Hebron road. But his protest is aimed mostly at the camp itself. Sometimes he stands with a rock in his hand glaring at Dheisheh residents across the road. He is often armed, and nearly always accompanied by Israeli soldiers or armed civilians from his settlers' movement.

UNRWA has asked the Israeli authorities to move Levinger and his followers away from in front of the camp, but they reply that he is not breaking any law. Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Knesset (parliament) on January 9 that Levinger had been given military protection "in order to maintain security at the site," but that the rabbi had been banned from entering the camp.

"Leave This Camp"

Organised groups of Israeli settlers, and militants led by Knesset member Rabbi Meir Kahane, have on occasion entered Dheisheh with the avowed intent of inciting or intimidating the residents. In November, a group from the "Jewish settlements council for Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district" entered the camp at night and distributed leaflets in Arabic urging the residents to "leave this camp and move to other places."

Israeli patrols circulate throughout Dheisheh and peer down from look-out posts on the roofs of buildings inside the camp.

Tired of Visitors

Dheisheh residents say they have wearied of visits by well-intentioned outsiders which have failed to alleviate living conditions in the camp. Almost daily, delegations troop through on inspection tours: foreign journalists, television crews, parliamentarians, diplomats and government officials from the US, Western Europe, Canada and Australia, representatives of voluntary relief or religious organisations, even Israeli officials.

The camp has become a focal point of attention, but for its residents things seem to get worse, not better. One angry resident positions himself just inside the blocked main entrance and taunts visitors: "How do you like the scenery?" he shouts, gesturing at the rusty barricade of barrels and barbed wire. "What is the use of all your visits?"

Those who put the barricades there often point to the camp's youths as trouble-makers and stone throwers. Some camp residents defend those who throw stones as budding "resistance fighters" and say the concentration-camp-like conditions only heighten youthful resentment and militancy.

For UNRWA's teaching staff in the camp, however, it is a different story. There are three schools in Dheisheh with 1699 pupils: 866 in the combined boys' elementary and preparatory (junior secondary) school, 349 in girls' elementary classes and 484 in girls' preparatory. They are supervised by 46 teachers, who see it as their job as much to keep the children busy and out of trouble as to conduct classes.

Keeping Order

The teachers come early and stay late to keep the pupils in line and make sure they don't linger after classes. Although the Youth Activities Centre at Dheisheh is closed, like many others in the West Bank, sports, social and arts committees have been formed in the schools to organise recreational activities.

"We must prevent any incidents because they reflect on us and could cause the interruption of studies," says Khaled Saifi, a boys' elementary teacher, who points out that his school was once closed by the authorities for two months. "If we discovered that a stone was thrown from our school, we wouldn't keep it open," he adds. "Our main concern is to keep the school running. These are our children, too."

When the authorities recently asked UNRWA to have the yard in front of the boys' school surfaced, to remove the temptation of loose stones that had been lying about, the teachers and students themselves organised and carried out the project. They brought in a contractor with a cement mixer and wheelbarrows, and worked on the project during activities periods and after school hours. The boys clearly enjoyed themselves, while doing their bit to improve the security of their camp.

At the same time, the agency opened rear entrances behind each school to permit the children to come and go without having to walk alongside the busy and dangerous highway. And the agency installed a high chain-link security fence in front of the clinic, supplementary feeding centre and camp services office to keep trespassers out.

Constant Harassment

After one previously demolished barricade was re-erected sealing a major entrance to Dheisheh, UNRWA engineers built the gate for the sanitation men. All garbage has to be removed from Dheisheh by hand, since the back road and narrow pathways won't accommodate garbage trucks. UNRWA workers have also opened channels at the base of the barriers to allow waste water to flow freely out of the camp.

Dheisheh's residents insist they are anxious to avoid trouble, even in the face of what they see as constant harassment and provocation from ouside. Once, according to one teacher, shots were fired into the camp from a passing bus; the driver claimed that a stone had been thrown from the schoolyard. Several youths were taken away for questioning, which has become a regular occurrence. Residents say there is not one of the camp's 1100 resident families which has not had at least one member detained at one time or another.

What worries the residents most — even over and above the psychological pressures of living virtually under siege — are the deteriorating economic conditions prevailing in the West Bank. Palestinians have been hard-hit by Israel's economic crisis. Their jobs are often the first to be eliminated.

Virtually everyone who can work tries to find work. Students feel mounting pressure to drop out of school to go to work to help their families, despite the supreme importance all Palestine refugees place on education.

In one household in Dheisheh, the 80-year-old patriarch, whose grandchildren are educated and have well-paying jobs, still feels obliged to continue working as a street-sweeper in Bethlehem to help keep the family afloat. Like most Dheisheh residents, he was originally a farmer from the coastal area of Palestine.

UNRWA has managed to keep services functioning in Dheisheh despite all the pressures and problems. This sometimes means walking a fine line between the requirements and concerns of the refugees and those of the authorities. Dheisheh is a symbol of contradictions and tensions arising from the absence of a political solution to the Palestine question, which would allow UNRWA to pass on to others its vital service-providing role.

TOP: Rabbi Moshe Levinger and a number of his fellow settlers opposite the entrance to Dheisheh refugee camp pressuring the Israeli army to take extra punitive measures against the camp inhabitants. BOTTOM: Israeli troops at a checkpost outside Dheisheh refugee camp delaying Palestinian cars and facilitating the route for Israeli colonial settlers.

Inside the wall and behind the barriers, Dheisheh seethes. Its narrow alleyways lack the bustling village atmosphere of other Palestine refugee camps. Residents stick close to their homes with their families, seldom venturing out. Many shops, kiosks and cafes are closed and shuttered.

Early in the morning, the women of the camp trudge up and down the steep pathways with their shopping baskets. Occasionally, an aging car belching smoke threads its way along the one open road, a bumpy, rocky track which winds down to the main highway from a distant rear entrance on the hilltop.

In the afternoon, when the children are home from school and the menfolk from work, quiet descends. At night, the camp is eerily lit by searchlights atop tall towers from the Israeli army post opposite the sealed main entrance.

Day in, day out, armed